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AUTONOMY OF LOCAL NATIONALITIES IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

By K. F. Kotov

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AUTONOMY OF LOCAL NATIONALITIES IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
(Citing as an Example the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast)

Following is a translation of the Russian-language monograph
Mestnaya natsional'naya avtonomiya v Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respublike --
na primere Sin'tszyan-Uygurskoy Avtonomnoy Oblasti (Autonomy of
Local Nationalities in the Chinese People's Republic -- the Sinkiang
Uighur Autonomous Oblast), by K. F. Kotov, Moscow, State Publishing
House of Juridical Literature, 1959, pages 1-196.

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Note: for the most part, political divisions in the Chinese People's Republic have been translated as they appeared in the Russian source.

The following table shows the relationships believed to exist between the Russian terms used by the author and the terms generally used in English-language publications.

<u>Russian</u>	<u>Translation in This Report</u>	<u>Probable Chinese and English Equivalent</u>
bol'shaya adminis- trativnaya rayon	large administrative division	ta-hsiang-cheng ch'u (super-provincial level units)
oblast	oblast	tzu-chih ch'u (autonomous region)
okrug	okrug	tzu-chih chou (autonomous chou)
uyezd	county	hsien
rayon	district (large) rayon (small or in cities)	ch'u (district) ch'u (ward)
gorod	city	shih (municipality)
volost'	volost	hsiang (township)

INTRODUCTION

The Chinese Peoples Republic [CPR] is a unitary multi-national state which unites more than 60 nations and nationalities.

Among the national minorities the most numerous are:
Chuangs -- 6,611,000; Uighurs -- 3,640,000; Hui -- 3,560,000;
Yi -- 3,254,000; Tibetans -- 2,775,000; Miao -- 2,511,000;
Manchurians -- 2,418,000; Mongols -- 1,463,000; Pu-yi -- 1,248,000;
and Koreans -- 1,120,000.*

(* See Jen-min Jih-pao, 1 November 1954.)

The remaining national minorities, each of which fewer than a million persons, number 6,710,000 in all. Among these are Kazakhs, T'ung, Pai, T'ai, Kava, Hang-i, Yao, Li, Tung-hsiang, Kirghiz, Tu, Li-su, Nung, Nasi, Laku, Shui-chia, Tsing-po, Chiun, Kao-shan, Salaar, Russians, Sibintsy, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Yui-ku, Tatars, Pa-san, Orochony, Daury, Solony, Ma-san, Mo-lao, Nu, Tu-lung, I-lao, and others. Some of these consist of only a few thousand; there are also nationalities with only a thousand or so, or even a few hundred, members.

The total number of all nations and nationalities inhabiting the CPR, other than the Chinese themselves, amounts to more than 35,000,000 persons, or 6.06% of the total population. The national minorities are scattered over extensive areas constituting about 60% of the total area of China. Most of the non-Chinese nationalities live along the borders of China. In the northeast, north, and northwest live Koreans, Mongols, and Tibetans; in the west, Turkic-speaking peoples -- Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, and the Hui people; in the southwest, Tibetans, Yi, Chuang, Miao, Pu-yi, Yao, Tung, T'ai. About one half the national minorities of the country live in the southwest.

The social and economic situation of the national minorities was determined before the formation of the Chinese Peoples Republic: above all by the semicolonial, semifeudal nature of the country's political and economic system.* Before 1949, although China was not formally a colony of any of the imperialist countries, it was in fact dependent on the imperialist states -- England, Japan, and the U.S.A. The rule of foreign imperialism, on the one hand, and the presence in the country of remnants of feudalism, on the other, retarded the development of the national economy of China as a whole. The dependent relation of the peripheral areas to the center worsened still further their situation, as may be seen in the case of Sinkiang.

(* An analysis of the social development of the national minorities in the CPR is contained in articles by the following Chinese authors: Wang Feng, "China -- a Multi-National State," Druzhba [Friendship], 27 April 1955; Fei Hsiao-t'ung and Lun Yao-hu, "On the Character of the Social Development of the National Minorities," *ibid.*, 12 September 1956.)

Dominant throughout the whole economy of Sinkiang were feudal relationships existing either in a more or less pure form or in the form of remnants. Survivals of the clan order were also of considerable importance.

The reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique used Sinkiang and other national border areas only as sources of cheap raw materials and as markets for the sale of industrial goods. There was virtually no industry in this area. The most important natural resources of the province -- petroleum, coal, nonferrous metals, and others -- were hardly exploited at all.

The setting up in Sinkiang of a few industrial plants at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries resulted in no noticeable changes in the structure of its economy.

The land was worked by primitive methods, the main implements being wooden plows, sickles, "ketmen", and stone floors for threshing. The area under cultivation was very small: of 6.5 million hectares suitable for cultivation, not more than 18% was cultivated in Sinkiang under the Kuomintang.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 18 February 1950.)

Describing the situation of the peasants in Sinkiang under the Kuomintang, the newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao stated that landlords, accounting for 5-6% of the total number of farms in rural areas, owned about 50% of the land. Moreover, in some districts landlords accounted for hardly 2-3% of the total number of farms, though they owned 80-90% and even as much as 100% of the land; while poor peasants, accounting for 60-70% of all farms, either had no land at all or only a very small amount.*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 11 August 1951.)

Each member of a landlord family in Sinkiang possessed 7 times more land than a member of a family of middle peasants -- 11 times more than a poor peasant, and 120 times more than a farm laborer's family*

(*Sinkiang Gazette, 5 September 1952.)

The predominance of feudal-landlord property in Sinkiang and in all China constituted the basis for agrarian feudalism. "The Landlord class," wrote Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "is the main social base of the rule of imperialism in China, the class which, utilizing feudal customs, exploits and oppresses the peasantry, the class which retards the political, economic, and cultural progress of Chinese society and which does not perform any sort of progressive function."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, Izbrannyye proizvedeniya [Collected Works], Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1953, Vol 3, p. 160.)

The landlords possessed not only a large part of the land but also the sources of water. In theory water was to be used in common, but in fact it was owned by the landlords.

According to data from the newspaper Sinkiang Jih-pao, the landlords of the second volost' of the first rayon of Turfan county, numbering 10.1% of the population, owned 69.1% of all the water in the wells and canal system ("kyariz",* while farm laborers, poor peasants,

and other poor peasant groups, constituting more than 54% of the population, owned only 6.6% of the water. In some places the water in wells belonged almost entirely to the landlords.**

(* "Kyariz" is the system of wells which supplied water to an underground canal.)

(** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 10 August 1951.)

The personal dependence of the peasants on the feudal lords was the result of various forms of extraeconomic coercion. V. I. Lenin stated that payment in the farm work necessarily demands coercion to work, the unequal status of the worker, which the author of Capital called "extraeconomic coercion."* Extraeconomic coercion played an important pole in the system of authority and subordination in Sinkiang. It was impossible for the peasant to dispose freely of his labor power: he was bound to the soil. The landlord forced the peasant to work, administered justice, and meted out his punishment.

(* V. I. Lenin, Soch. [Works], Vol. 2, p. 449.)

The most common form of exploitation was the renting of land by the landlords for payments in kind. The collection of rents from the peasant, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stated, constituted the main form of exploitation by the landlords in the Chinese rural areas.*

(* Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., 1952, Vol. 1, p. 231.)

Rent payments were extremely high, amounting frequently to one half the yield. One of the forms of exploitation was unpaid labor by the peasants on the estates of the feudal lords. One peasant served the family of the feudal lord as a servant, others tended his herds, others served as milkmaids. For example, in one of the villages of Keriyskiy county, for the landlord Mameta-Tokhiti, each tenant had to work 100 days a year without pay;* and for the landlord Zunun of Chirasskiy county, 60 days a year.**

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 28 December 1951.)

(** Ibid., 1 September 1952.)

Similar periods of service had to be worked by peasant-tenants on each landlord farm in the rural areas of Sinkiang. All orders of the landlords and members of their families had to be obeyed unquestioningly. The landlord punished cruelly the peasant for the smallest sign of discontent or refusal to perform any kind of extra work. The peasants' great need for land, tools, cattle, and seeds, all of which were under the control of the landlords, forced them to do this work without pay. The landlords systematically ruined the peasants, buying their land and property very cheaply. To gain control of the peasants' land, they frequently resorted to intimidation, threats, and blackmail. Sometimes the landlords would confiscate the land and property of the peasants merely for failure to make rental payments on time, or for similar reasons.

In a number of cases peasants completely dependent on the landlord were transformed in effect into slaves. Although this situation was not common in Sinkiang, in some counties of the province,

particularly in the south, it prevailed up to the time of the revolution itself. For example, in Karakashskiy county, among 12 landlord families there were 69 slaves.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 15 December 1952.)

The peasants of the great landlord Abdulla in one of the villages of Keriyskiy county were in effect slaves, for this landlord possessed all the farming land, all household belongings, cattle, farm implements, mills, oil presses, etc. The landlord considered all the peasants of the village his own property, because they were constantly in debt to him.* The meager share of the harvest which they received for their labor did not enable the peasants to pay off their debts or even to sustain their poverty-stricken existence. Thus did they become virtual slaves.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 11 August 1951.)

The arbitrary rule over such slaves took quite savage forms. Such peasants were deprived of all means of production, they could be sold or killed. In the settlement of Malyy Karakyr alone, landlords with impunity killed 64 peasants at various times.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 24 July 1952.)

The exploitation and oppression of the workers was doubled by the mercantile-usurious capital that was experiencing a considerable development in Sinkiang. Usury destroyed without pity the farms of the peasants, inflicted indelible suffering on their families, and condemned them to starvation and death. The usurer was a hated figure both in the city and in the village.

For advances of grain, livestock products, and manufactured goods received from the usurer, the peasants either pledged their tiny plots of land or assumed the obligation to work for a certain number of days on the usurer's farm. The period within which the advance had to be repaid was usually 6 months. For any advances made the usurer charged an exorbitant rate of interest, frequently amounting to 400% annually.* In the city the usurer usually made money loans, which brought him large profits.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 15 July 1951.)

The impoverishment of the peasants made it possible in almost every village for the usurer to hold in bondage great numbers of the peasantry. Frequently debts were transferred by inheritance from parents to children. There were instances of the sale of children for the purpose of liquidating the debt.

Life among the cattle raisers was particularly difficult and impoverished. Patriarchal-feudal relations obtained in the cattle-raising districts of Sinkiang. The fact that the land belonged to the feudal lord made it possible for him to hold in permanent servitude a large number of cattle raisers.

The toiling cattle raisers roamed over the lands of the feudal lord, not being permitted to go anywhere else with his cattle. The peasant-herdsman paid rent in kind for pasturage, was subject to

various additional levies, and had various labor obligations. For the slightest refusal to meet his obligations he was punished severely. The pitiful livelihood of the toiling cattle raisers became yearly more and more impoverished.

The feudal exploitation of the toiling herdsman was even supplemented by exploitation on the part of trade and usury capital. Numerous trade agents and usurers bought up for trifling prices from the local population their products derived from livestock raising and sold them manufactured goods at fabulous prices. For example, 100 kg of sheep wool was exchanged for one brick of tea; one camel, for a piece of coarse cloth.*

(* Narodnyy Kitay [People's China], 1953, No. 14, p. 16.)

The workers were particularly hard pressed at tax time. The taxes levied for the central budget were added to the local taxes. In all, several dozen different taxes were collected.

The economic oppression resulted in a decline in the economy and impoverishment of the peoples of Sinkiang and other regions of China. The cattle herds in the province grew smaller each year. The oppressed masses lived in eternal fear of crop failure and starvation. Defending the interests of the landlords was the entire state apparatus -- the bureaucracy, courts, the police, and other punitive organs.

* * *

The state feudal-bourgeois bureaucratic apparatus of Kuomintang China consisted of numerous central and local organs which performed military-police and fiscal functions.

The political system which existed in the old China deprived the masses of the slightest participation in the organization and activities of the state organs, either central or local. The organic statute of 4 October 1928, which constitutionally riveted the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of the Kuomintang clique headed by Chiang Kai-shek, directly supported the withholding of political rights from the people.

Explaining this situation, Chiang Kai-shek declared at the 5th Congress of the Kuomintang in 1928 that the masses of the people "still do not know how to control their own matters, they are unprepared for self-rule."*

(* Materialy po kitayskomu voprosu [Materials on the Chinese Question], Moscow, 1928, No. 6, p. 30.)

The system of provincial administration in Sinkiang was organized in accordance with the then-existing administrative-territorial divisions which had been established in 1923. The province of Sinkiang was divided into okrugs which in turn were subdivided into counties ["uyezdy"]. Counties were divided into volosts and rayons.

From 1928 to 1933 the military governor of the province was Tsin Shu-jen, a henchman of the central administration who carried out a fierce anti-people policy.

All the leading positions in the military-colonial administrative apparatus of the province, down to county heads, were filled only by Chinese. In relation to the non-Chinese peoples this apparatus carried out the policy of the Great-Chinese chauvinism of the Kuomintang clique of Chiang Kai-shek. "Towards all the national minorities," said Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "this clique carried out a reactionary policy directly inherited from the government of the Manchu dynasty and from the government of the northern militarists, a policy of monstrous oppression and exploitation."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., 1953, Vol. 4, pp. 549-550.)

The policy of economic and national oppression and deprivation of rights which the Kuomintang was carrying out immediately aroused strong opposition from the national minorities. In 1931 in Sinkiang a strong national movement sprang up which continued for more than 4 years. Since the armed forces of the Kuomintang were not able to suppress this movement, the local satraps began to temporize. The government of Chiang Kai-shek was forced to make certain temporary concessions. It made small changes in the organization and activities of the local state organs. In April 1933 in Sinkiang a new government was formed headed by Shen Shih-tsai. The new administration hid its activities under demagogic pronouncements about equality of nationalities, freedom of worship, democratization of the administrative apparatus, etc.

With the aim of softening the antagonism towards him of the non-Chinese peoples, Shen Shih-tsai began to draw into the provincial state organs the economically dominant upper stratum of the small nationalities. Transforming them into supporters of its policy, the Sinkiang government continued to rob and oppress the toilers of the province.

The state administration in the province was organized in accordance with the so-called "Temporary Constitution of the Chinese Republic in the Period of Political Guardianship," adopted on 5 May 1931. This constitution established a strictly centralized system of state organs both central and local. The administration was concentrated in the hands of state office-holders. Article 78 of the constitution stated that "in each province there will be set up a provincial administration which will conduct all the affairs of the province under the supervision of the central government."*

(* See Konstitutsii burzhuznykh stran /Constitutions of the Bourgeois Countries/, Moscow, 1936, Vol. III, p. 99.)

The constitution made the local administration responsible exclusively to the higher state organs. Thus, even in a formal juridical sense, the activities of the local state organs were not subordinate to the people.

No changes were made in the situation with respect to local state organs in the "Organizational Rules for Temporary Provincial Councils," adopted in 1938. In accordance with this act a council was set up in the province, the members of which were appointed by the central

governmental organs jointly with the county governments and local Kuomintang committees. The provincial council had no control over the government of Sinkiang.

The provincial councils were set up by the Kuomintang not as independent and sovereign organs of self-rule, but as advisory organs for the local administrations. Later on, even these so-called organs of local self-rule in Sinkiang and other districts of China ceased to exist.

All power in the province was concentrated in the hands of the provincial government, which was appointed by the central government. It consisted of nine members headed by a chairman and was charged with putting into effect the instructions and decisions of the central government, the conduct of current affairs of the government, and the convoking of regular and special sessions.

The provincial government could control the administrative affairs of the province only "on the basis of the principles of the Kuomintang Party and laws of the central state power."

The provincial government coordinated and controlled the work of the various committees, commissions, administrations, departments, and commissariats. Subordinate and reporting to it were the following departments: civil affairs, education, finance, construction, agriculture and mining; the administrations of highways, communications, political enlightenment; the commissions of colonizing settlements; the publishing-translation commission; the financial-control commission; the committee for struggle against opium-addiction; the higher judicial chamber; the diplomatic agency; Sinkiang University; and other organs.

In Sinkiang there existed also a wide network of military administrations which served as the main bulwark of the ruling upper clique of the Kuomintang in the province. The system of military administration was composed of the staff, the main political administration, waecretariat, military-police administration, the administration of the military officers' school, the military personnel department, the military-judicial administration, the commandant's office, the border department, department for military horse-breeding, the military-medical administration, the guard regiment, training regiment, special battalion, the fortress battalion, and a large secret police organization. All power in the province actually belonged to the military administration.

An important role in the colonial administration of the province was played by the organs of administration in the okrugs, counties, and rural settlements. At the head of the okrugs, counties, and volosts were chiefs appointed directly by the provincial government. The okrug, county, and volost organs were charged with police and judicial functions, the collection of taxes, etc.

An important military-political function was performed in the local military-bureaucratic system by the ramified system of "pao-chia." This system had also existed under the monarchy. "Pao-chia" represented

the lower link of the administrative apparatus. All rayons, villages, and settlements were subdivided into a definite number of units. Such units were single farmsteads headed by elders; ten-farmsteads, by leaders called "on begi"; hundred-farmsteads, by leaders called "yuz begi"; thousand-farmsteads, by leaders called "meng begi". The leaders of these units were called beys and were appointed by the county chief mostly from among the local feudal lords. Introducing a similar system of administration into the localities, the Kuomintang reaction followed the goal of enmeshing the rural population in this network, transforming them into a will-less objects of exploitation, ensuring the protection of the interests of the exploiting classes, and intensifying the struggle against the revolutionary elements rising in the villages. The population was kept under strict control. For the purpose of uncovering and isolating those antagonistic towards the existing order, the elders, "on begi," and others were required to organize among the population a system of spying on one another. Information about persons dissatisfied with their condition, impoverished and without rights, and about democratically-minded persons was collected by the authorities.

The elders and heads of ten-, hundred-, and thousand-farmsteads were obliged also to collect various land taxes from the population, to enforce the fulfillment of labor obligations, to settle the various disputes arising among the village inhabitants, and to obey all the instructions of the county chiefs.

The "pao-chia" system was also an important means for the registration of military recruits. Each farmstead supplied one man for the performance of military service, for the maintenance and equipping of which it paid a fixed tax.

In the last years of rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique, the "pao-chia" system was very widely developed. Thus in early 1949 in Sinkiang there were 64,601 beys, of which 1,065 were "meng begi," 5,776 "yuz begi," and 57,760 "on begi."*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 23 February 1949.)

Their activities had a very perceptible effect on the situation of the toiling masses. Many beys, exploiting their official position, made large fortunes. For example, the landlord Musa of the village of Damiku used his position as bey to appropriate from the peasants as much as 3,900 mou* of peasant land.**

(* A mou is 1/15 of a hectare.)

(** Sinkiang Gazette, 1 September 1952.)

In Tekesskiy county the "thousand-leader" ("meng-begi") T'ang-t'ai used his position to force 300 peasants to work for him without pay, collecting annually as a tax from each 100 sheep.* The unpaid job of bey constituted a source of enrichment, and the county chiefs transformed it into a business of buying and selling.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 27 August 1951.)

The power of the local beys was in effect unlimited. They exercised arbitrary rule and coerced the toiling masses. In one of the volosts of Aksuyskiy county the beys within a short period killed 487 peasants and raped 272 women.*

(* Ibid., 9 May 1952.)

The administrative system had a certain special character in the nomad districts of Sinkiang where survivals of the clan order lasted up to recent times. These survivals affected above all the organization of the administration among such peoples as the Mongols, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz. The Mongols, for example, were divided into two wings -- western Mongols (Oyraty) and southeastern Mongols (Chakhari). At the head of each wing stood an "ukurday" who was directly responsible to the county chief. The lower link of the clan organization of the Mongol peoples was represented by village communities ("sumuny") headed by "tszyangi" who were directly subordinate to the ukurday. Under each tszyangi were "ten-leaders" ("boshko").

Several Mongol tribes were formed into principalities ("torgouty" and "khoshouty"). A prince held supreme power in the principality and was directly subordinate to the provincial government.

The Kazakh and Kirghiz populations were divided into clans, "ukurdaystva," and communes (auls). The clan was the highest link in the clan organization and included about 500-1,000 yurts. If a clan was composed of a large number of yurts, it was divided into several ukurdaystava which were in turn divided into communes (auls). At the head of an ukurdaystvo stood an "ukurday" who was subordinate to the county chief, while the aul was headed by an "aksakal" who was directly subordinate to the ukurday.

The clan aristocracy of the various nomadic peoples had considerable authority among the population. It handled tax collections and settled family, marital, and other disputes. In its activities the clan aristocracy relied on the support of the local Kuomintang authorities.

The appointment of persons to posts in the lower administrative apparatus among the nomads was converted by the Chinese bureaucrats into a very remunerative business from which they derived large profits.

The courts played an important role in the Kuomintang administrative system.

At the head of the judicial chamber in Sinkiang stood the provincial chief. The affairs of the higher court were handled directly by the Commissar of Justice. He examined especially important cases of a political nature. The highest court of first instance in the counties was represented by the county chief.

Minor cases were handled by the native courts. In Sinkiang there existed several categories of such courts. Among the Uighurs, for example, cases were tried by the prince according to a "shariat"; among the Mongols, by the prince under the system of customary law; among the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, by "biyei" according to the norms of

customary law and the written law of "Ul'kun-Erezhe."

Feudal law, written or unwritten, stood as the weapon for all levels of the local judicial system. It strengthened the foundations of the patriarchal-feudal relations and protected the power and privileges of the feudal lords, who were granted complete arbitrary and unchecked power over the toilers. The feudal law provided for punishment by the lash, prison, death, and other punishments. Judicial posts, like other important posts, were freely sold for money or "farmed out" to individuals. In the last years of the Kuomintang regime such practices became open and widespread.

The Mohammedan clergy played a special role in Sinkiang. It was the support of reaction and obscurantism. The clergy owned large areas of land and exercised judicial, police, and other functions. The strong influence of the clergy was one of the causes of the darkness and oppression in which the people lived.

Thus the state power in Sinkiang during the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique was exercised by a feudal-bureaucratic apparatus designed to exploit the masses of toilers. Its main methods of operation were arbitrary rule and coercion.

The support of this enormous apparatus of oppression imposed each year new burdens on the people. The lot of the toilers was worsened still further by the unbelievable rapaciousness and graft which permeated the entire state apparatus from top to bottom. Towards the national minorities this apparatus carried out "a policy of monstrous oppression and monstrous exploitation."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, op. cit., 1953, Vol. 4, p. 550.)

The inhabitants of Sinkiang did not have the right to call themselves by the name of their respective nationalities. Their mother languages were persecuted, attempts to develop a national culture were mercilessly suppressed. The policy of the Kuomintang system towards the small nationalities consisted in stamping out among them all conceptions of nationhood, crippling their cultures, hampering the use of their languages, and keeping them in ignorance. The result of this policy also was the underdevelopment and political backwardness of the national minorities and their complete lack of rights. The great masses of the Sinkiang population were illiterate. There were only a handful of secondary schools and virtually no higher schools. The forces of poverty and hunger, the absence of any kind of medical service for the population, resulted in a high incidence of social diseases (tuberculosis, trachoma, syphilis, etc.). The peoples of Sinkiang were gradually dying out.

In order to facilitate the conduct of its policy of enslavement of the toilers, the ruling Kuomintang clique spread discord and hatred between the nationalities, setting one people against another. This was supported by various "theories" such as declarations that the struggles between the nationalities were a natural and eternal law of history.

The reactionary rulers of the old China propagated a Great Han "theory" based on the notion of the superiority of the Chinese /Han/ nation and a scornful attitude towards all other nationalities.

The local exploiters, like the representatives of the ruling classes of the old China, propagated the view that between the nations there could be no unity, that the interests of the different nations and peoples were implacably antagonistic. At the same time, they spread the lying "theory" of the harmony of class interests within the nations.

Thus the old China was a limbo of peoples. The Kuomintang clique of Chiang Kai-shek was the executioner and torturer not only of the main masses of the population of China -- the Chinese themselves, but also of all the non-Chinese peoples.

* * *

The violence of the Kuomintang reaction, the intensification of feudal and national oppression, and economic dislocation gave birth among the masses of the various nationalities of Sinkiang, as among the other toilers of China, to an indomitable hatred of the oppressors. The toilers could not reconcile themselves to the coercion exercised over them. And all the many centuries of the history of the peoples of China, including Sinkiang, are filled with evidences of their heroic struggle for their rights and freedoms, for their national and social liberation.

During the period 1931-1933 the Uighur and Kazakh peoples carried on a constant struggle against the rule of the local warlord, Tsin Shu-jen.

The revolutionary movement later became more widespread, especially in the northern part of the province. The masses of peoples of various nationalities rose up both against the Chinese militarists and followers of the Kuomintang and against the local exploiters. However, all their actions were fiercely suppressed by the Kuomintang reaction and the position of the national minorities became still more unbearable.

V. I. Lenin, analyzing the peasant revolts, stated that the major cause of their defeat was the darkness and lack of consciousness among the peasant masses, their lack of preparation, the absence of a political leader in the person of an organized proletariat and its party.*

(* V. I. Lenin, Soch. [Works], Vol. 6, pp. 385-386.)

Lenin's analysis of the causes of the defeat of the peasant insurrections is fully applicable in explaining also the defeat of the insurrectionary movements among the various peoples of China, in which "the struggle of all nationalities... against imperialism and feudalism could not but end in defeat, due to the absence of leadership on the part of the progressive class and the progressive political party."*

(* Liu Ke-p'in, "October and the National Question," Druzhba, 1957, No. 10, p. 12.)

As a result of the lack of leadership in the peasant movements by the proletariat, the local feudal lords and all sorts of political adventurers succeeded for a time in hiding the class nature of the

liberation struggle by preaching the community of interests of all strata of one or another nationality or group of nationalities, and used the people's movements for the re-establishment of their own privileges and the preservation of the rule of the feudal orders. An example of this is the peasant movements which swept the province in 1864-1877 and 1931-1933. The first was utilized by the political adventurer and agent of foreign imperialism, Yakub-bek, who, with the support of the reactionary Buzruka-khod-zhi, who had great influence over the local population, seized power in Kashgar and attempted to make himself ruler of all Sinkiang.* (* Burkhan Shakhidi, "On the Rule of Yakub-bek," Li-shi Yen-chiu, 1958, No. 3, Peking, pp. 1-7.)

In the 1930s the leadership of the peasant movement was taken over by the local feudal lords -- Sabit-Dzhamulla, Muhamed Bugra, Shamansur, and others. These movements, of course, could not lead to the liberation of the peasants from the feudal clique. But the struggle of the small nationalities against national and social oppression did not cease.

A very profound influence was exerted on the development of China by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"The volleys of the October Revolution," wrote Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "brought to us Marxism-Leninism... To follow the Russian path was our conclusion."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, O diktature narodnoy demokratii /On the Dictatorship of the People's Democracy/, Gospolitizdat /State Publishing House of Political Literature/, 1949, pp. 5-6.)

The working class of China rose up in the struggle against imperialism, assuming the political leadership of the democratic revolution. There began a period of the spread of Marxism-Leninism and its connection with the workers' movement. "As a result of the steady progress in China of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of the working class, the influence of the October Revolution penetrated ever more strongly and deeply into the most distant and isolated villages, among the masses of poor peasants who constituted the most numerous stratum of the Chinese population. And no power was capable of stopping the spread of this influence."*

(* Hu Sheng, "The Chinese People Are Fighting Under the Banner of the October Revolution," Izvestiya, 5 November 1957.)

At the head of the revolutionary workers' movement in the country stood the Communist Party of China, which had been formed in 1921.

With the appearance on the historical scene of the working class of China and of its vanguard -- the Communist Party, fundamental changes occurred in the struggle of the peoples of China for their national and social liberation.

From the very beginning of its existence, the Communist Party took a stand against social and national oppression, and for the implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism, equality of rights and friendship between peoples. It constantly unmasked the reactionary policies of the ruling classes and of the imperialist powers which were fiercely oppressing the Chinese people and the national minorities.

The Communist Party associated the liberation of the national minorities of the country with the general social tasks of the Chinese people's revolution. It carried out a great deal of work among all the national minorities of the country, created party organizations among many of them, trained Communist cadres, led a struggle for the unity of the proletariat of all nationalities and for their unification around the Chinese proletariat as the main moving force of the revolution.

The Communist Party explained to the toilers of all the nationalities that their liberation from social and national oppression was possible only as a result of the overthrow of imperialist and feudal-landlord rule in the country and the establishment of a people's democratic order.

The party considered that it was impossible to liberate the toiling masses of the various nationalities from social and national oppression without the liquidation of the rule of imperialism in the country, because "...imperialism with all its financial and military might in China is the force which supports, inspires, cultivates, and preserves feudal survivals with all their bureaucratic-militaristic superstructure."* (* J. V. Stalin, Soch. [Works], Vol. 9, p. 286.)

Imperialism and feudalism were the main forces which oppressed society and retarded its development. Imperialist and feudal oppressions were interconnected, and it was impossible to carry on a struggle against feudalism without at the same time fighting against imperialism.

Therefore, the task of the national and social liberation of all the nationalities of China required them to unite their forces in a common struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction.

In 1927 China created the first revolutionary bases from which the Communist Party embarked on the organization of organs of a new revolutionary power in the form of soviets which thereby laid the foundations of the people's democratic power.

The First All-Chinese Congress of Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers' Deputies, held in November 1931, declared in a special resolution on the nationality question that "...the toiling masses of all the non-Chinese nationalities are to unite with the Chinese worker-peasant masses for the common struggle against their common oppressors and exploiters, against imperialism and the rule of all native landlords and bourgeoisie, and for the creation of the workers' and peasants' soviet power."*

(* Sovety v Kitaye [The Soviets in China], Partizdat [Communist Party Publishing House], 1934, p. 440; see also Programmyye dokumenty kitayskikh Sovetov [Programmatic Documents of the Chinese Soviets], Partizdat, 1935, p. 51.)

The genuine liberating policy of the Communist Party won for it the trust of all the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, causing them to rally around the Chinese proletariat in a common struggle against domestic and foreign enemies. The national minorities acquired a leader in the person of the Chinese proletariat and its Communist Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his report to the Second All-Chinese Congress of Soviets in 1934 said that "a common striving for the victory of the revolution has resulted in the uniting of the Chinese toiling masses and the toiling masses of all nationalities."*

(* Vtoroy s"ezd kitayskikh Sovetov [The Second Congress of Chinese Soviets], Partizdat, 1935, p. 113.)

Guided by the theses of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China began carrying out step by step a Marxist program for the solution of the nationality question in China.

As early as the First All-Chinese Congress of Soviets,* defining the coming tasks in the field of national construction, it was declared that the people's revolutionary power would assume the task of setting up a state which would put an end everywhere to national oppression and national enmity, in which all the national minorities would receive equal rights with the Chinese in the various spheres of public life, in which economic and cultural construction would be carried out on a large scale.

(* Sovety v Kitaye, Partizdat, 1934, p. 441.)

The Congress demanded that the organs of the people's power create schools within the territories of the liberated national districts for the children of non-Chinese nationalities; that they publish newspapers, books, and other printed materials in the local languages; draw national cadres widely into the work of the state apparatus; make official the languages of the main nationality or nationality group; and carry on a determined struggle against Great-Power Chinese chauvinism.

The Congress of Soviets made these statements the basis for practical activities on the national question for the party and state organs in the liberated districts in all the subsequent years of the national-liberation struggle and the construction of the people's democratic state.

The decision of the First All-Chinese Congress of Soviets was very important for the mobilization of the toiling masses of the various nationalities as regards the struggle for their social and national liberation. This congress, which condemned the reactionary nationalistic policies of the ruling classes of China, called on all the nationalities and national groups in the country to join together in the struggle for freedom from the oppression of feudal reaction, militarists, and foreign imperialists.

Heading the struggle of the peoples of China for their social and national liberation, the Communist Party of China demanded rights and self-rule, that is, autonomy, for the national minorities of China on an equal basis with the Chinese people. This demand of the Communist Party was set forth in the provisional constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic and in the resolution on the nationality question adopted in 1931 at the First All-Chinese Congress of Soviets,* and also in their program of August 1937 saving the Fatherland in the war against Japanese imperialism.

(* Programmye dokumenty kitayskikh Sovetov, Partizdat, 1935, pp. 15, 50-51.)

Raising the broad masses of the national minorities in China to the task of the struggle against colonial and national oppression, the Communist Party expressed the fundamental interests of all the peoples of the country in embarking on the liquidation of their lack of rights and oppression and the strengthening and development of friendship between these peoples.

At the VI Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (November 1938), Comrade Mao Tse-tung, defining the tasks of the party in national construction in the liberated areas, spoke again of the need for granting to the national minorities rights equal to those of the Chinese. He said that the national minorities should have their own administration and power over their own affairs, while in areas where both Chinese and various national minorities lived together it was necessary to ensure their participation in local administration. He demanded respect for their cultures, religions and traditions and aid for them in cultural development and in the development of their native languages.*

(* Kommunist /Communist/, 1958, No. 2, p. 66.)

Even before the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the policy of the Communist Party of China was put into practice in the liberated national districts of the country. A resolution of the First All-Chinese Congress of Soviets stated: "The toiling masses of all the non-Chinese nationalities within the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic, even in those regions where the Chinese population constitutes a majority, are to be placed on an equal footing with the Chinese population, and all juridical rights and obligations are granted to them without any type of nationality restrictions."* The nationality program of the Chinese Communist Party demanded the setting up of national self-rule and a fundamental improvement in the economic and cultural life of the national minorities. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, clearly describing the essence of the nationality policy of the Communist Party in his report to the VII Party Congress in April 1945, said: "Communists should assist the broad masses of the national minorities, including those of their leaders who are closely associated with the masses, in their struggle for political, economic, and cultural liberation and development and in the creation of armed units among the national minorities to stand guard over the interests of the masses. The spoken and written language, traditions, customs, and religious doctrines of the national minorities must be respected."**

(* Programmyye dokumenty kitayskikh Sovetov, Partizdat, 1935, p. 53.)

(** Mao Tse-tung, Izbrannyye proizvedeniya /Collected Works/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1953, Vol. 4, pp. 550-551.)

Guided by these statements, the Communist Party set up local organs of self-rule in the liberated districts and aided the national minorities in the development of their economies and cultures.

In 1934-1935, in the period when the Chinese Red Army was carrying out a successful advance from the south into the northwest districts of the country, a national Tibetan government was set up in the province of Sikang. During the war against the Japanese pillagers, an autonomous government for the Tung-kangs was set up in one of the districts on the Shen-hsi--Kang-su--Ningsia provincial border. The national minorities took an active part in the work of local government organs in the border districts of these provinces and those of Shanhsi, Ho-peh, and Honan.

On 1 May 1947, following the liberation of Inner Mongolia from domestic and foreign foes, an autonomous region was set up.

The nationality policy which the Communist Party was carrying out in the liberated districts of the country was widely accepted among all the national minorities of China. It inspired them in the struggle against domestic and foreign enemies and strengthened their alliance with the great Chinese people in this struggle.

The newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao reported that "in the last 30 years many national minorities, organized and led by the Communist Party of China, have embarked on a determined struggle for their liberation from imperialist and Kuomintang slavery. Shoulder to shoulder with the great nation of the Hans, the national minorities are taking part in the revolutionary struggle. The best sons and daughters of the national minorities have joined the vanguard detachment of the proletariat -- the Communist Party of China, and have made their contribution to the cause of the Chinese revolution."*
(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 20 March 1952.)

This is particularly clear from the example of the active participation in the general struggle against domestic and foreign reaction of the broad masses of the toilers of the various nationalities of Sinkiang. Under the influence of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people a national-liberation movement was unleashed by the inhabitants of all districts of the province.

Economic, political, and national oppression was particularly unbearable in this province. Fighting against the growth of the national-liberation movement, the Kuomintang authorities harried progressive elements among the local nationalities, spreading distrust and enmity among the various peoples of the province. Shen Shih-tsai, who carried out the reactionary policies of Chiang Kai-shek in Sinkiang, propagated fascist methods of rule. In late 1939 more than a thousand progressive persons were jailed; in 1940, 28 persons -- representatives of the revolutionary spirit of the youth -- were buried alive.* For the purpose of exposing further the democratic element among the youth, Shen Shih-tsai set up in 1941 the provocative organization called "Six stars for the study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism" which performed in essence the functions of a secret police. Declaring the study of Marxism-Leninism a crime, Shen Shih-tsai again arrested a large group of patriots. Bloody reprisals were carried out against

representatives of the revolutionary movement. With the aid of the American consulate set up in 1941 in Urumchi, Shen Shih-tsai organized the pro-fascist "Committee for the conduct of the new interrogation" which occupied itself with the physical extermination of Communists and other revolutionaries. The entire province was covered with a network of concentration camps and prisons.

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 3 May 1951.)

The capital of Sinkiang, Urumchi, was called the "city of prisons." In this city of 100,000 there were 30 prisons.* The numbers of those arrested and imprisoned rose daily. During the final 12 years of Kuomintang rule in Sinkiang more than 12,000 of the best fighters for the people's cause, representing various nationalities, were killed in prisons and torture chambers,** including members of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen T'an-chiu, Mao Tse-ming, Lin Chi-lu, and others who were working for the party in Sinkiang.

(* Narodnyy Kitay, 1951, Vol. III, Nos. 11-12, p. 16.)

(** Jen-min Jih-pao, 29 September 1954.)

The bloody terror was accompanied by an intensification of the national and economic oppressions of the non-Chinese nationalities of Sinkiang.

In March 1944 the Sinkiang government published a decree declaring obligatory the delivery of 10,000 horses for the Kuomintang army. The heaviest burden of these deliveries fell to the toiling cattle raisers. The requirement for additional deliveries fanned the people's discontent and unrest, particularly among the populations of the cattle-raising districts of Sinkiang, especially the Iliyskiy, Tarbagatayskiy and Altayskiy okrugs.

In August 1944 the peasants and nomads of Nilkha county of Iliyskiy Okrug openly defied the Kuomintang system. They were supported by the inhabitants of other counties of Iliyskiy region who raised an armed insurrection. Daily the revolutionary masses achieved new successes in this struggle. By early November 1944 Nilkha district was completely liberated. Quickly the insurgents occupied Kul'dzhu, the largest city in the north of the province. With the growth of the armed attacks, it became a center of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the Iliyskiy, Tarbagatayskiy, and Altayskiy regions.

The military and political leadership of the insurrection was exercised by a Central Staff, set up on 12 November 1944 in Kul'dzha. This day has gone down in the history of Sinkiang as the beginning of the national-liberation movement of 1944-1949.

The Central Staff, headed by Akhmedzhan Kasimi, did a great deal in organizing and mobilizing forces for the struggle against the Chiang Kai-shek government. It united the separate partisan organizations which were active within the territory of the three regions. On 8 April 1945 the creation of a regular revolutionary army was official proclaimed, constituting one of the basic conditions assuring the victory of the national-liberation struggle.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking of the need to create a regular army, said that "...without sufficiently strong regular armed forces it is completely impossible to create revolutionary bases, and even more impossible to provide for their lengthy sustenance and uninterrupted development."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, Op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 104-105.)

The creation of a regular revolutionary army and the unified political and military leadership of the national-liberation movement by the people's revolutionaries fundamentally altered the character of the movement. The main moving force of the national-liberation movement of 1944-1949 in Sinkiang were the broad masses of the toilers of the various nationalities, above all the poorest peasants, poor herdsmen, and the city poor.

Leadership of the national-liberation struggle was exercised by such fighters for democracy as Akhmedzhan Kasimi, Sayfuddin Azizov, and other representatives of the democratic movement. They came out for the democratization of social and political life, for equality of national rights, and against the rule of foreign imperialism and domestic reaction.

The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of various nationalities was fused with the general revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people and became an organic constituent part of it. In the course of this struggle a military alliance was gradually formed between the national minorities and the Chinese people, constituting the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of all the peoples of China. Progressive representatives of the national minorities became increasingly convinced in the course of the revolutionary struggle that only the victory of the Chinese people over imperialism and feudal reaction could bring about the liberation of the country's nationalities. Under the influence of the struggle of the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party, the national-liberation movement among the peoples of Sinkiang grew stronger daily.

The successes of the People's Liberation Army of China, which in the summer of 1947 began a general offensive against the Kuomintang forces, inspired the peoples of Sinkiang to rise up actively against Kuomintang reaction. Ever larger numbers of toilers of various nationalities oppressed by imperialism and feudalism came to participate in the movement.

As the Sinkiang Gazette pointed out, the successes of the People's Liberation Army in China and the great and beneficial ideas of the Chinese revolution, successively realized by the Communist Party, strengthened the faith of the toilers of Sinkiang in the victory of the revolution, inspiring them to struggle further against the Kuomintang reaction.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 12 November 1950.)

The results of the work of the Communist Party in the liberated districts had considerable effect on the growth of the national-

liberation movement in Sinkiang. The successful accomplishment of the agrarian reform, as a result of which landed estates were broken up and the land given to the peasants; the drawing of the toiling masses into the work of the organs of state power; granting to them the right to elect the representatives thereof -- all this showed the national minorities of Sinkiang that the Chinese people's revolution had brought them freedom from slavery and deprivation of rights.

The young National Liberation Army, led by the Central Staff, began a successful offensive against the local Kuomintang forces. By late July 1945, the Tarbagatayskiy okrug had been completely freed from the Kuomintang. On 8 September 1945 the liberation of Altayskiy okrug was completed. In October 1945 the cities of Aksu and Pai were liberated. These successes contributed to the further growth of the revolutionary struggle in Sinkiang and to the increasingly active participation in it of the population of the districts still under the control of the Kuomintang forces. An armed insurrection of the toilers in Tashkurgan began. Quickly the inhabitants of Aksuyskiy, Kashgarskiy, and Yarkendskiy okrugs rallied to it. In all the other regions and counties of the province the people's movement attained a broad scope.

Striving to suppress the national liberation movement, the Kuomintang rulers and their local henchmen increased their repressions and persecutions. After the attempt to suppress the revolutionary movement by armed force had completely failed, the Kuomintang rulers in Sinkiang attempted a political maneuver by proposing to settle the "Sinkiang question" by peaceful means.

The leadership of the national liberation movement in Sinkiang accepted this proposal. In October 1945, in Urumchi, negotiations began between representatives of the Kuomintang government and a delegation of the national liberation movement in Sinkiang headed by Akhmedzhan Kasimi, for a peaceable settlement of the "Sinkiang question" which had persisted for 8 months. As a result of the negotiations a preliminary agreement was signed in January 1946, and on 6 June final accord was reached. The terms of this peace treaty provided for the carrying out in Sinkiang of a series of measures for the democratization of the social and political life. A change was provided for in the composition of the local government by means of the inclusion within it of 15 representatives of the Uighur nationality and 10 representatives of other nationalities. Equal status of local languages in relation to the Chinese language was guaranteed at all levels of the administrative apparatus. The people of the province were granted freedom of speech, press, assembly, and organization, as well as freedom to develop domestic and foreign trade. The agreement guaranteed the right to preserve the national army and provided for the carrying out of a number of other democratic measures.

The treaty went into effect on 1 July 1946. A coalition government was soon formed in Sinkiang. Representing the national

army in the government was Akhmedzhan Kasimi, who took the post of deputy president of the government, Sayfuddin Azizov, Rakhimzhan Sabirov, Abdukarim Abbasov, and other revolutionaries.

Adopted in July 1946, the political program of the new provincial government provided for the implementation of all political liberties and asserted the necessity for friendship with the USSR, aid to agriculture and livestock raising, and the development of industry, transportation, and the public health service. A series of measures were provided for in the cultural field: the development of primary, secondary, and higher education; the development of national art and literature, the construction of a large network of cultural-enlightenment institutions. Elections of local organs of power on a democratic basis were provided for with the right to vote granted to the entire adult population of the province.

However, the implementation of this program was frustrated by the Kuomintang reaction. The elections to local organs of the state power, carried out amid terror, bribery, and fraud, did not result in any real shake-up in the composition of the previous government. Other items on the program also remained unfulfilled -- in fact all the major points of the peace treaty.

Despite the treaty, the Kuomintang authorities not only maintained the secret police in Sinkiang but also considerably intensified and expanded its activities. The Chiang Kai-shek group in the provincial government sabotaged the reorganization of the local judicial organs and the staffing of these organs, in accordance with the treaty, with representatives of the local nationalities. The Kuomintang authorities violated the understanding regarding a sharp reduction in the Kuomintang forces stationed in Sinkiang. Not only this, by late 1946 the size of the Kuomintang military forces in the province had increased fivefold.

The reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique considerably expanded the activities of the local Black Hundred elements, using them in the struggle against the national liberation movement.

The Kuomintang authorities utilized the armistice to regroup their forces in the province. In spring 1947 they began an offensive against the liberated districts. Democratic elements were persecuted and suppressed in all the regions of the province. Under such conditions the representatives of the national liberation could no longer remain in the coalition government and thus withdrew.

The Kuomintang authorities formed a new government headed by Masud, an Uighur nationalist, and agent of Anglo-American imperialism. Carrying out the will of his masters, Masud began a furious campaign of tracking down and persecuting the democratic forces in Sinkiang, attempting to suppress the national liberation struggle. Cooperating in this effort were the nationalist bands led by Osman, Dzhanimkhan, Yulbars, Kalibek, and units of the Black Hundred leader Sung Hsi-liang. Supported by the Kuomintang authorities and American imperialists, they

attempted to subordinate the national liberation movement to the interests of the struggle of the Pan-Turks for the unification of the mythical "nation of Turks," for the creation of a "Turkish state." However, none of the enemy's efforts could halt the successful development of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the broad masses of the nationalities of Sinkiang.

The masses understood clearly the role of Masud and his followers. They rallied still more closely around the Central Staff of the national army of Sinkiang, giving it their full support in the struggle against domestic reaction and foreign imperialism.

In January 1948 there was formed in the province a "Union for the Defense of Peace and Democracy" constituting the organizational form of a united front in Sinkiang. Under the leadership of the Communist Party this "union" promoted the growth of the national liberation movement in the province. Uniting the efforts of all the democratically-minded masses of the various nationalities in the struggle against imperialism and domestic reaction, it was active also in setting up organs of the people's power in the liberated districts.

The Masud government ceased to exist as a result of the successes of the national liberation movement. In early 1949 a new provisional government was formed in the province. Headed by Burkhan, this government adopted on 26 September 1949 a resolution on severing relations with Chiang Kai-shek and joining Sinkiang to the liberated districts of the country.

By late summer 1949 the National Liberation Army had driven the Kuomintang forces out of most of mainland China and begun the liberation of the northwestern districts of the country. On 1 October 1949 the creation of the Chinese People's Republic was triumphantly proclaimed in Peiping. In the same month, on orders of the Central People's Government, units of the National Liberation Army of China entered Urunchi, capital of Sinkiang, and by December reached the USSR border.

In Sinkiang the rule of the local feudal lords and Kuomintang reactionaries was overthrown and the people's power established.

* * *

The victory of the people's revolution in China fundamentally altered the status of the national minorities. Discrimination and oppression came to an end. The great successes achieved in the first years of the people's power regarding the solution of the nationality problem were legally consolidated in the basic law of the People's Democratic Government -- the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, adopted in September 1954 and embodying the hopes and dreams of the toilers.

The Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic is profoundly multi-national. It bestows equality of rights on all nations and races in all spheres of the economic, political, and cultural life. The

Constitution of the CPR states that all the nationalities of the CPR have been united in one great family of free and equal peoples.

All the national minorities are granted the right to the free use of their own languages and literatures, and the preservation or change of their own customs and traditions. The Constitution grants to all citizens over 18 years of age in the Chinese People's Republic the right to elect representatives of the organs of the state power, and also to be elected to them regardless of race or nationality, sex, occupation, social origin, religion, education, property, or way of life. The election law provides for broad representation of the national minorities in all the elected organs of the people's power.

The CPR is now growing and strengthening as a great family of free and equal peoples.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China, guided by the principles of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy and creatively utilizing the experiences of the USSR, in the solution of the nationality question, have defined the concrete means and forms of building of a new life for previously-oppressed peoples and have accomplished a great deal in rallying all the nationalities of China into a united family. They are daily aiding the development of backward peoples, assisting in their rapid economic and cultural growth.

The statute of the Communist Party of China, adopted at the VIII Party Congress, states that the party "...should devote special efforts to improvement of the position of the national minorities, assist in the development of their self-rule, intensively train cadres from among them, assist in the development of their economies and cultures, ensure complete equality of rights to all nationalities, and strengthen solidarity and friendship among them."*

(* Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s'ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya /Materials of the VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Communist Party of China/, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1956, pp. 509-510.)

National construction in the CPR has much in common with the practice of national construction in the USSR and the other socialist countries.

Such common features are the following:

1. The establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat; the abolition of national oppression; the assuring of equality of rights to all nations, peoples, and national groups, as well as to their languages; multi-national solidarity, cooperation, and mutual aid as regards the toilers of all nationalities and national minorities, and amity among them.

The victory of the people's democratic revolution in the CPR would have been impossible without the constant implementation of the principle of equality of rights for all nations and races. In turn, complete implementation of national and racial equality of rights would have been impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, proposing fraternal mutual aid on the part of the proletariat and not only the peasantry of the ruling nation but also the peasant masses of the nationality districts.

2. The abolition of private ownership of the implements and means of production in both city and rural area, the liquidation of the exploitation of man by man, the establishment of public ownership of the main implements and means of production -- measures which constitute the material base for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of abolishing national inequality of rights among the formerly backward nations and the building of socialism.

3. The putting into practice of such principles of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy as national self-rule, proletarian internationalism, national-race equality of rights, abolition of existing inequalities of national rights among previously oppressed peoples.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China, guided by these general principles in solving the nationality question, at the same time give consideration to the specific conditions of Chinese life as defined by the peculiar development of class and national relations within it and the characteristics of its historical development.

The presence of specific characteristics as regards each nationality and people makes necessary the utilization of different forms and methods in solving the nationality question.

Of special importance in the matter of correctly solving the nationality question is the policy, worked out and steadily followed by the Communist Party and the People's Government of China, of establishing local national autonomy. This contributes to strengthening the unity of the nationalities, increases their initiative and labor enthusiasm, helps in the rapid rebuilding of their social and political life on new socialist foundations. At the present time, the autonomy of local nationalities has been implemented in the overwhelming majority of the national districts of the country in which a large proportion of the national minorities live in compact areas. For all of China, according to data from late June 1957, there were established 87 autonomous districts, including two autonomous oblasts, 31 autonomous okrugs, and 54 autonomous counties.*

(* See the report delivered on 5 July 1957, by comrade Ulanfu at the IV Session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives on the creation of the Kwangsi Autonomous Region for the Chuang nationality and the Ningsia Autonomous Region for the Hui nationality in 7 July 1957.)

Recently the number of autonomous districts has increased. In July 1957 the IV Session of the VSNP [All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives] adopted a resolution on the creation of two more autonomous regions -- the Kwangsi for the Chuang nationality and the

Ningsia for the Hui nationality.* On the basis of this decision, in early March 1958 the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Oblast was established,** and in late October 1958 the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Oblast.*** A preparatory committee has been formed for establishing a Tibetan Autonomous Oblast.

(* Druzhba, 7 July 1957)

(** Ibid. 1958, No. 13, p. 9.)

(*** Ibid. 1958, No. 47, p. 4.)

In September 1957 the Ditsinskiy Tibetan Autonomous Okrug* was established in western Yunnan and the Hsiang-hsi Autonomous Okrug for the Tutseya and Miao peoples was established in the province of Hunan.**

(* Ibid. 19 September 1957; and No. 2, 1957, p. 22.)

(** Ibid. 1957, No. 3, p. 19.)

In early April 1958, in southeastern Yunnan Province in Southwest China, a new national autonomous unit was created: the Wen-shan Autonomous Okrug for the Chuang and Miao peoples.*

(* Ibid. 1958, No. 21, p. 21.)

One of the largest national districts of the CPR is the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, formed on 1 October 1955.

The establishment of districts of local national autonomy is a result of the successful implementation of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China.

The principles of the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China are embodied in the Constitution of the CPR, "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," and in other legislative acts.

In the present work the author's task is to trace, in the example of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, the district having more nationalities than any other in the country, the process of the creation of local national autonomy in the CPR, to show its character and correctness, to show the main achievements of the People's Democratic Government in the abolition of existing economic and cultural inequalities among the nationalities.

CHAPTER I

AUTONOMY OF LOCAL NATIONALITIES IN THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

1. Autonomy of Local Nationalities -- the Most Expedient Form of State Organization of National Minorities in the Chinese People's Republic.

In solving the problem of the advisability of one or another state organization, the Chinese Communists have proceeded on the basis of the peculiarities of the historical development of the country, the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism, and the presence in the country of numerous nationalities and national groups manifesting different stages of socioeconomic and political development.

Under the conditions of China, with its multi-national population, different levels of the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural development of the national minorities, the small numbers of many peoples, lack of territorial integrity among a number of nationalities, and for other reasons, the most expedient form of state organization of national minorities was local national autonomy.

The Communist Party of China, in promoting local national autonomy as a form of state organization of the national minorities of China, was guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism on the nationality question and studied the fruitful experience gained in establishing local national autonomy in the USSR.

The possibility of granting autonomy had been foreseen by V. I. Lenin long before October 1917. In the article "On the Question of a Nationality Policy" V. I. Lenin said that the democratic state should recognize the autonomy of the various oblasts, particularly oblasts and okrugs with populations of different national composition. Such autonomy in no way contradicts democratic centralism; on the contrary, only by means of the autonomy of oblasts in a large variegated national state could democratic centralism actually be implemented.* (* V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 20, p. 204.)

The Chinese Communist Party considers local national autonomy as a very important means for strengthening the unity of the Fatherland and for increasing solidarity among all its nationalities.

It guarantees to the national minorities of the country security from the encroachments of imperialism; ensures the development of their native languages, economies, cultures, and their right to self-rule.

Adopted on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the nationality question,* local national autonomy, according to the newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao, is the basic political line in the solution of the nationality question in China. It expresses the striving of all the

nationalities and national groups of China to live and work in the single family of peoples of China, to strengthen their powerful united multi-national people's democratic state.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 13 August 1952.)

The unity of the Fatherland and solidarity among all its nationalities is the most important principle of the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the Chinese People's Government, determined on the basis of both the domestic and external conditions of the development of the CPR. This principle lies at the foundation of the recognition of local national autonomy as the most expedient form of state organization of the national minorities of China as a united people's democratic state.

The need for the creation of a unitary form of state with a multi-national population composition was dictated by the historical experience of the economic, political, and national development of China.

Over an extended period, particularly during the last 30 years, relations of mutual aid and solidarity developed between the different nationalities of the country on the basis of both economic and cultural relations and their joint struggle against internal reaction and foreign imperialism.

"In China the defeat of imperialism, particularly Japanese imperialism, had the result that the fortunes of all the nationalities became closely tied together. In the face of a powerful enemy it was necessary for all the nationalities to make a choice: either to put an end to their mutual estrangement, strengthen mutual confidence, rally the forces of all the nationalities for the defeat of imperialism and the feudalism and bureaucratic capital allied therewith, achieve joint liberation, and create a powerful fatherland able to defend all the nationalities -- or else continue to remain in a state of national disunity in which each nationality acted alone and which would condemn them to everlasting oppression."*

(* Ulanfu, "Speech at the VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Chinese Communist Party," Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s" ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 231.)

The national minorities of China chose the first course. During the revolutionary struggle led by the Chinese Communist Party, they became convinced of the correctness of this policy, the carrying out of which resulted in their liberation from social and national oppression. The Communist Party of China, which had united all the peoples of the country into a single militant alliance, ensured the victory of the people's democratic revolution, which freed them forever from slavery, imperialism, and domestic reaction and gave them freedom and equality.

Therefore, after the victory over the common foe, all the nationalities of China chose the path of the creation of a unified multi-national state with the implementation within its boundaries of local national autonomy.* A new people's democratic state was created in the country, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(* Ibid., p. 232.)

The Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic establishes that China is a unified multi-national state.

However, Taiwan -- an inseparable part of the CPR -- still remains under the oppression of American imperialists and their puppet, Chiang Kai-shek. The population of the island is struggling ever more determinedly for liberation and for a return to the united family of the peoples of China. All the Chinese people demand the liberation of Taiwan. This demand finds warm support among all progressive mankind. Under these conditions, the unity of all the nationalities of the country is regarded by the Communist Party and the People's Government of China as its first task.

A very important means for the accomplishment of this is the implementation of the policy of local national autonomy within the framework of a united people's democratic state.

"The implementation of the policy of local national autonomy in China," said Comrade Wu-lan-fu, "is very important in the great cause of achieving the unity of the Fatherland, equality of rights, solidarity, and the development of the different nationalities."*

(* Ulanfu, *Ibid.*, p. 231.)

Imperialist agents have more than once attempted to arouse reactionary local nationalism in order to tear away the national districts from the country, to bring them under their influence and enslave them. For many decades Tibet, Sinkiang, and other national districts of China were the object of imperialist plots and intrigues. Striving to undermine the unity of the fatherland and the solidarity of all the nationalities, the imperialists and their agents busy themselves even today with provocative and subversive activities against China.

The armed uprising carried out on orders of the imperialists in March 1959 by the former local Tibetan government and the reactionary segment of the Tibetan upper classes, clearly confirms this.

Exploiting religious feelings and the complex situation on the distant borders of China, the imperialists under the banner of the "liberation" of the national minorities provoked the local reactionaries into making a series of separatist demands, such as for the "independence of Tibet," the establishment of a protectorate or buffer state, etc.

All these attacks by reaction were dealt a decisive blow by the toiling masses of the country, led by the Communist Party of China. On the orders of the State Council of the CPR and with the support of the patriotic Tibetan clergy and the civil population, units of the People's Liberation Army garrisoned in Tibet, liquidated the armed revolt of the Tibetan traitors. Under the banner of defending the interests of the Tibetan toilers and the unity of the Fatherland, in late April 1959 the first session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, II Convocation, took place. The deputies of this Congress unanimously condemned the intrigues of imperialism and local reaction in Tibet, demanding the speedy suppression of the insurrection. For the purpose

of strengthening the unity of the fatherland, increasing the solidarity of the Tibetans with the Han peoples and other nationalities, and guaranteeing the security of the Tibetan toilers against the encroachments of imperialism, in their speeches the deputies demanded an acceleration of the implementation of local national autonomy and the gradual carrying out of democratic transformations.*

(* "Report of Chou En-lai on the work of the Government of the CPR, given on 18 April 1959 at the first session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, second convocation," Pravda, 19 April 1959.)

In his speech, deputy Ngabungavan Dzhigmi, representative of Tibet, asserted "that Tibet is an inseparable part of China and that the Tibetan people can achieve genuine happiness only in the united, equal, fraternal family of all the peoples of the Fatherland on the road to the creation of local national autonomy, on the road of democracy and socialism."*

(* Pravda, 23 April 1959.)

Thus local national autonomy is a most important means of implementing the policy of nationality solidarity and unification of the country.

The creation in China of a single unitary state was dictated also by the necessity for the strengthening and development of the economic and cultural ties between the nationalities.

It is known that the Chinese, constituting 93.94% of the total population of China, occupy mainly the interior districts of the country, about 40% of the total area; whereas the national minorities constitute 6.05% of the country's population and occupy about 60% of the total area. Mutual interests as regards the development of all the nationalities of the country and the development of the country's productive forces required the establishment between the nationalities of close economic and cultural cooperation and mutual aid.

It is necessary to consider also the historical complexities of their settlement. Several national minorities live in compact areas. Many districts of the country have mixed populations. Some national minorities are scattered throughout various districts of China. Under such conditions local national autonomy permits the state organization of all national minorities, regardless of where and how they are settled.

Comrade Wu-lan-fu, describing the nature of local national autonomy in China in his speech at the VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, said that "the advantages of district national autonomy consist in the fact that it is thus made possible to extend to national minorities the right to rule their own districts and, in conformity with their situation and conditions, to assist their national development. It also permits, on the basis of complete equality of rights, the rallying of all the fraternal nationalities into a single great state, affording each other assistance and cooperation, governing and developing their state together, which in turn will promote still further the development of each nationality."*

(* Materialy VIII Vsesoyuznogo s"ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 232.)

Thus the peculiarities of the historical development of the national minorities, their actual situations, the totality of both the domestic and foreign conditions of the development of the CPR, explained the need and the desirability of the implementation of local national autonomy for the national minorities within the framework of a single unitary state. This best conforms to the major tasks and functions of the people's democratic state in the present stage of its development.

The character of local national autonomy is defined by the class nature of the people's democratic state. Local national autonomy in the CPR is one of the most important means for the solution of the nationality question, because it creates the conditions for the many-sided political, economic, and cultural development of all the formerly oppressed and rightless peoples of China, raises them up to the level of the advanced nationalities, and contributes to the elimination of any inequalities existing between them resulting from the colonial policies of the old order.

Local national autonomy not only ensures the abolition of the backwardness of the toilers of the various national minorities, but also creates the conditions for the peaceful political development of all of them, drawing them into the state administrative system. The organization of organs of self-rule, local schools, courts, and other organs of the national autonomous units made up of representatives of the basic nationalities, and the use of the local language in their work, bring the people's power closer to the national minorities, making it familiar and understood.

"The autonomy of the national districts makes it possible to give to small nationalities the right to be their own masters, to develop their own policies, economies, and cultures in conformity with their own traits; and, at the same time, on the basis of equality of rights, it makes it possible for all the fraternal nationalities to unify into a united great power jointly building socialism."* Autonomy thus becomes a link between the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of the peasantry of the non-Chinese nationalities in the joint struggle to build socialism.

(* Liu Ke-p'in, "October and the Nationality Question," 1957, No. 10, p. 12.)

"The system of national district autonomy in our country," said the newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao, "is carried out in the great united family of the Fatherland, and the unity of the Fatherland in turn is built on the basis of nationality, equality and solidarity, since only in the large united family of the Fatherland under the unified leadership of the central organs is it possible to ensure the development of all the nationalities in the direction indicated in the Constitution, and the proper union of the particular and current interests of all the nationalities and their common long-range interests."*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 24 August 1957.)

Thus local national autonomy is the most desirable form of national-state organization in the Chinese People's Republic, created on the basis of the democratic dictatorship of the people in districts of the compact settlement of national minorities exercising state power under consideration of their national and other peculiarities within the framework of the laws established by and under the leadership and control of the higher state organs of the CPR.

2. Fundamental Principles of Autonomy of Local Nationalities

The democratic and socialist nature of local national autonomy becomes particularly clear from a description of its most important principles.

1. Local national autonomy was created on the basis of the democratic dictatorship of the people.

The political form of the organization of the state power of the democratic dictatorship of the people in the Chinese People's Republic is the system of Congresses of People's Representatives.

"The system of Congresses of People's Representatives," said Comrade Liu Shao-chi, "was able to become a suitable political system for our state because it is convenient for the exercise by the masses of their rights, the regular participation of the masses in the administration of the state, and, consequently, for the development of the activity and creative initiative of the masses."* The unified system of state organs of the Chinese People's Republic is defined by the multi-national character of the people's democratic order.

(* Materialy pervoy sessii Vsekitayskogo Sobraniya narodnykh predstaviteley /Materials of the First Session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives/, Publishing House of Pravda, 1954, p. 39.)

Article 67 of the Constitution of the CPR states that the organization of the organs of self-rule in the autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and autonomous counties should conform to the basic principles of the organization of local state organs as laid down in Section 4 of Chapter II of the Constitution.

Local national autonomy is the exercise of self-rule by representatives of the toilers of the various national minorities, that is, it has a genuinely popular character.

The economic basis for the building of local national autonomy is the socialist sector, which is dominant in the national economy of the Chinese People's Republic. It creates a solid material base for the close cooperation and friendship of the various nationalities in the system of a unitary multi-national state, and ensures their economic, cultural, and political development. The successful carrying out in the country, and particularly in the national districts, of a series of democratic transformations in the spheres of economics, culture, and political life has created the conditions for the exercise by the national minorities of

local national autonomy and of those rights granted to them by the people's democratic power.

2. Local national autonomy is based on the equality of all the nationalities and national groups inhabiting China. In the Chinese People's Republic there are no restrictions on or privileges for any one nationality which would damage the multi-national nature of the people's democratic state.

The principle of equality of rights of all the national minorities of the country was laid down at the time of the formation of the Chinese People's Republic in the General Program of the People's Political Consultative Congress of China, in which it is stated that "all the nationalities within the borders of the Chinese People's Republic have equal rights, are closely united, grant aid to one another, and participate in the struggle against imperialism and enemies of the people in each nationality, in order that the Chinese People's Republic may become a great family in which all nationalities may live in the spirit of love, friendship, and cooperation."*

(* Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Legislative Acts of the Chinese People's Republic/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, pp. 63-64.)

The principle of equality of rights of all the nationalities and national minorities in China was legislatively formulated in the acts on the nationality question adopted in 1952. These acts include "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," "Decree of the State Administrative Council on the Provision of Equality of National Rights for all Nationalities Living Separately," "Decree of the State Administrative Council on the Order of Formation of Local Combined Democratic Governments for the Different Nationalities."*

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Constitutions and Basic Legislative Acts of the Chinese People's Republic/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 97-112.)

The principle of equality of rights has been set down in the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, which proclaims the equality of all citizens under the law.

Having established the legal equality of all the peoples of the country, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China immediately after the formation of the CPR began to carry out a series of such measures for ensuring actual equality as would create for the different nationalities the conditions for the full utilization of the rights granted to them.

The principle of equality of rights in local national autonomy is manifest in the fact that the organization and activities of the organs of self-rule must conform to the interests not only of one or another of a few nationalities, but to those of all the national minorities living in a given national district. All the nationalities are granted the right in accordance with the law to take part in the setting up of

organs of local power, and they are also ensured freedom of opinion, of speech, of the press; the right to organize societies, to correspond; freedom of person; sanctity of the home; freedom of movement, of worship; the right to demonstrate. The principle of equality of rights is also strictly observed in the work with cadres, in their training in a spirit of mutual respect towards one another's dialects, languages, traditions, customs, and religious convictions.

The equality of rights of the national minorities is manifested also in the fact that one and the same type of district of local national autonomy possesses equal rights granted by the organs of the central state people's power.*

(* Report of Comrade Wu-lan-fu on the draft of "General Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," in Sbornik dokumentov po natsional'nomu voprosu /Collected Documents on the Nationality Question/. "Jen-min Chu-pang-sha" Publishing House, Peking, 1953, p. 176.)

The rights are defined by the level in the administrative-territorial structure to which this or that district of local national autonomy belongs: oblast, okrug, country.

"The autonomy of the national districts makes it possible fully to implement the political equality of the national minorities living in compact areas."*

(* Li Hsin-ping, "On District Autonomy," Druzhba, 21 May 1957.)

3. Local national autonomy has been built up in conformity with the national-territorial principle. The theoretical working out of this principle in the works of V. I. Lenin and his students, and in the decisions of the CPSU and the CPC /Communist Party of China/, has served as the basis for building local national autonomy in China.

The national-territorial principle in conformity with local national autonomy presupposes the existence of a definite territory with a compact population living within it and distinguished in national composition, languages, way of life, etc. "The advantage of regional autonomy," wrote J. V. Stalin, "consists primarily in the fact that it is thus made possible to deal not with figments without territory, but with a definite population living within a definite territory."*

(* J. V. Stalin, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 361-362.)

The state power in each district of local national autonomy is socialist in nature, national-democratic in form. All the organs of local national self-rule are formed under consideration of the way of life of the local population and consist of representatives of this population. Through these organs the representatives of each nationality, within the limits of the rights granted them, carry out economic and cultural construction in their national-state formations.

The national-territorial principle of local national autonomy was legislatively formulated in the first acts of the Chinese People's Republic,* and were later embodied in Article 3 of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic.

(* See Art. 51. "General Program of the NPKS of China," Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Legislative Acts of the Chinese People's Republic/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, p. 64; Arts. 4-9 of "General Principles for Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Constitutions and Basic Legislative Acts of the Chinese People's Republic/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 97-98.)

In the determination of the boundaries of districts of local national autonomy consideration is given to the actual territorial extent of settlement of the national minorities in question, the compactness of their settlement, historically conditioned economic circumstances, and the relations between the national minorities living in the district. The principles of equality of rights and voluntariness are observed. This method of instituting local national autonomy ensures the broad economic, cultural, and political development of formerly backward and oppressed nationalities and peoples of China and makes it possible to consider all the diversities of ways of life, language, cultures, and economic conditions.

If close to the district of any national minority there are Chinese settlements historically and economically linked with this district, then in the creation of the national autonomous district these Chinese settlements, with the consent of both parties, can be included in the given autonomous district. This is very important not only for the economic and cultural development of the nationalities concerned, but also for the establishment between them of friendship and unity.

4. One of the most important principles of local national autonomy is the setting up of the apparatus of self-rule in the national districts. The principle of instituting this apparatus defines the national character and people's democratic content of the local national autonomy, and ensures the drawing of the broad masses of the formerly backward nationalities and national groups into active participation in the administration of the state.

Here, for example, is what our Chinese comrades say about the significance of this principle. In the article "On the Advantages of the Policy of Self-Rule in the Districts of Local National Autonomy" Sha-to points out that conferring a national character on the organs of self-rule is very important, that it is the central problem in the policy of the implementation of local national autonomy.*

(* Sha-to, "On the Advantages of the Policy of Self-Rule in the Districts of Local National Autonomy," Cheng-fa-yen-chiu, 1956, No. 1, p. 23.)

Wang Feng expresses the same thought. "It is necessary," he says, "to strive to gradually give a national character to the autonomous organs of power, which is the essence of the policy of local national autonomy."* Practical implementation of the establishment of the apparatus of local self-rule as a social-political problem represents a twofold

process: on the one hand, it means bringing the state apparatus closer to the toilers of erstwhile oppressed nationalities through a change-over to the conduct of affairs in the native language; on the other, drawing the toilers of the basic nationality themselves into the state administration.

(* Wang Feng, "Successes in the Solution of the Nationality Question in China," Za prochnyy mir, za narodnyyu demokratiyu! /For Lasting Peace, For People's Democracy!/, 14 May 1954.)

From the beginning of the formation of the CPR, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China carried out a great deal of work in setting up the local apparatus of self-rule in the localities, utilizing the very rich experience of national-state construction in the USSR.

The necessity for carrying out such work in the districts of the national-minority settlements was already provided for in the first legislative acts of people's democratic China.

For example, the "General Program"* obligated all state organs in the districts of national-minority settlements to include corresponding representatives in the work of the organs of the people's power. Later this principle was further developed in "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic" and in the Constitution of the CPR. Article 12 of the "Basic Principles..." and Article 68 of the Constitution of the CPR state that the organs of self-rule of all the national autonomous districts must be composed of members of the local nationality.** (* See Art. 51 of "General Program...", Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, p. 64.)

(** Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 48, 99.)

Firmly established local self-rule is primarily linked with the training and retraining of national cadres. "Training national cadres and gradually including them in the organs of self-rule and the leading party organs is the main link on which depends all the work of the party in the national districts."*

(* Li Hsien-ping, "On District Autonomy," Druzhba, 21 May 1957.)

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China have carried out at the center and on the spot a great deal of work in training local national cadres.

The training of these cadres constitutes one of the main tasks of the local state organs. In accordance with Articles 17 and 32 of the "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," the local state organs in the national districts are to carry out the planned training of local national cadres from among the toilers of the various nationalities and national minorities.

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 100 and 103.)

The VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in 1956, asserted the necessity for intensive training of cadres from among representatives of the national minorities.*

(* Materialy VIII Vsesoyuznogo s'ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, pp. 480, 510.)

During the period of people's rule in China great successes have been achieved in the matter of training local national cadres.

In early 1958 there were in China more than 400,000 cadre workers from among the national minorities.

For the purpose of the broad training of national cadres, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China have set up numerous institutes and courses, and are now aiding the local cadres to raise their level of political training and practical skills in the work of the various autonomous organs of power.

Firmly establishing local self-rule includes also the carrying out of measures aimed at assuring use of the language of a given nationality in the work of the organs of national self-rule.

V. I. Lenin stated as early as 1914 that "the democratic state must unqualifiedly recognize the full freedom of the different languages and repudiate all privileges being granted to any one language."*

(* V. I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 20, p. 204.)

J. V. Stalin spoke repeatedly of the importance of the national language in Soviet construction. In order that the Soviet power might become understood and familiar in the republics, J. V. Stalin pointed out that "it is necessary that not only the schools but also all institutions, all organs, both Party and Soviet, come, step by step, to be locally controlled, in order that they may function in the language understood by the masses, in order that they may function under conditions which conform to the way of life of the given people."*

(* J. V. Stalin, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 257-258 (emphasis ours -- K. K.).)

The XII Congress of the CPSU, planning the further course of national construction, spoke of the need for the promulgation of special laws to ensure the use of local language in all state organs and in all institutions serving the local national population and national minorities -- laws such as would prosecute and punish with all due revolutionary severity violators of the rights of the individual national minorities.

Thus, in the course of bringing the erstwhile oppressed nationalities into the work of building socialism the question of national language becomes a most important element in the firm establishment of local self-rule.

Guided by these principles of Marxist-Leninism, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China are giving great attention to the use of local national languages in the work of the organs of national self-rule.

In the Constitution and the other most important documents of the Chinese People's Republic on state construction it is stated that

all the national minorities are provided with freedom to develop their respective written and spoken languages, which are to be widely used by them in the work of the organs of self-rule in the districts of local national autonomy.*

(* See Articles 3, 68, 71, and 77 of the Constitution of the CPR, Articles 15, 16 of "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki. Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 31, 48, 49, and 100.)

A great deal of work is being carried out in reforming the old written languages of the national minorities and in creating written languages in cases where such are lacking. In China the publication of books and newspapers in the national languages has been developed on a broad scale.

One of the measures for firmly establishing the state apparatus in the national districts is the study of the local languages by workers of other nationalities.

Chinese workers who have studied the language of the basic nationality are sharing their experience in the administration of the state with the erstwhile oppressed nationalities. Knowledge of the language of the basic nationality by the Chinese and other workers of the non-basic nationality contributes to a more successful implementation of the ideas of the people's democratic state among the toilers of the erstwhile oppressed national minorities, rallies the non-Chinese peoples around the Chinese people, and assists in eliminating the previous distrust on the part of the former towards the Chinese.

The newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao mentioned the special importance of the study of local languages by the Chinese workers: "In many of the national districts the cadre workers of Chinese nationality are actively studying the language of the local nationality. This will have a great effect on the development of their work."*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 24 August 1954.)

Experience shows that a matter of exceptional importance for bringing the organs of self-rule closer to the toilers of this or that nationality or national group is the language in which the Chinese and other non-local workers speak and carry on business.

The Party Committee of the city of Kandin of the Tsang Autonomous Okrug in Hsi-kang Province, in firmly establishing the apparatus of self-rule, in 1953 summoned all the Chinese workers to master the local national language within a definite period of time.* Similar actions have been taken by the People's Government of the Tibetan Autonomous District** of this same province, and by many other autonomous districts.

(* Ibid., 20 May 1953.)

(** Wang Fang, "Successes in the Solution of the Nationality Question in China," Za prochnyy mir, za narodnyyu demokratiyu!, 14 May 1954.)

In March 1957 the Party Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast adopted the special resolution "On the Study of the Languages of Local Nationalities by Cadre Workers of Chinese Nationality."* This resolution obligates the party committees at all levels to intensify their conduct of the study of the languages of the local nationalities by Chinese cadre workers, and to ensure the proper control over the course of study. According to the resolution, each cadre worker of Chinese nationality must in the course of a 3-5 year period study one of the languages of the local nationalities: Uighur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Mongolian, Hsi-po, or others, depending on the national district of the organs of self-rule in which the Chinese cadre worker is employed.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 3 March 1957.)

In carrying out the policy of firm establishment, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China act in accordance with the interests of all the national minorities living in a given district.

In the very first constitutional document of the Chinese People's Republic -- the "General Program of the NPKS of China" -- it is stated that "in all localities where different nationalities live together, and also in the districts of local national autonomy, each nationality will have a proportionate number of representatives in the local organs of state power."*

(* Article 51 of "General Program...", Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, p. 64.)

This provision was further strengthened in a series of subsequent legislative acts of the Chinese People's Republic on state and national construction.

Article 12 of "General Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic" and Article 66 of the Constitution of the CPR state that in all districts of local national autonomy where many nationalities live together, each nationality must have a proportionate number of representatives in the organs of self-rule.

Therefore it is impossible to identify the idea of the firm establishment of self-rule with the idea of "Uighurization," "Mongolization," "Tibetization," etc., because these do not fully exhaust the idea of such firm establishment the meaning of which cannot be limited to problems relating only to the basic nationality of a given district.

Chinese authors have spoken of this peculiarity of such firm establishment: "The investment with power of organs of self-rule in national form does not signify the exemption of Chinese cadres and workers of other nationalities from participation in administration in the districts of local national autonomy."*

(* The Nationality Policy of Our State, Edited by Chiu-P'u. "T'ung-su-tu-wu-chu-pan-she" Publishing House, Peking, 1955, pp. 24-25.)

In mixed districts where Chinese and other nationalities constitute a minority, workers of the basic nationality are obligated to display the necessary tactfulness and give the maximum attention to their interests and inquiries.

The conduct of the policy of firmly establishing the organs of self-rule in the districts of local national autonomy is encountering resistance on the part of class enemies -- great-power chauvinists and local nationalists.

The great-power chauvinists ignore local peculiarities and hinder drawing into the apparatus of self-rule representatives of the local erstwhile-oppressed nationalities.*

(* Ibid., p. 21; Collection of Documents on Nationality Policy, Jen-min Chu-p'an-she, 1953, Peking, pp. 86, 87, 173, 174.)

The local nationalists are attempting to replace the socialist content of the slogan "to give a national character to the autonomous organs of power" with their own nationalist slogan "autonomy solely for the basic nationality." They wish to convert the firm establishment of the state apparatus, which is a means for strengthening the friendship of the peoples of China, into a means for dividing these peoples.

Local nationalists have attempted to distort the meaning of proletarian consolidation for their own counterrevolutionary purposes. They have demanded, for example, the carrying out of an immediate 100% consolidation of the apparatus of self-rule exclusively for the benefit of the basic nationality.

The local nationalities have been able to place in an unequal status the toilers of Chinese and other (non-basic) nationalities, without the help of whom it would not have been possible to carry out the liberation of the toilers of the basic nationalities and the implementation of socialist construction in the national border regions of China.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi stated in a report on the draft of the Constitution of the CPR that "although the various national minorities have received the right of national equality, it would be impossible for them to assure rapid elimination of their economic and cultural backwardness, relying solely on their own capabilities and efforts. Therefore, aid on the part of the Chinese is extremely important for them."* Without the fraternal assistance of the Chinese and other nationalities, without consideration of their interests, establishing a firm basis for self-rule would mean the possibility of the propagation of nationalism, the division of the various nationalities in the state, a revival of their alienation.

(* Materialy pervoy sessii Vsekitayskogo Sobraniya narodnykh predstaviteley, Publishing House of Pravda, 1954, p. 54.)

The Communist Party is carrying on a decisive struggle against great-power chauvinist and local-nationalist distortions in the matter of firmly consolidating the apparatus of self-rule.

The VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Communist Party of China, condemning these deviations on the nationality question, demanded that serious attention be paid to the work of transforming the organs of national self-rule into genuinely national organs.*

(* Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s'ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, pp. 54, 55, 510.)

Experience in firmly consolidating the state apparatus in the national republics of the Soviet Union teaches that the implementation of this policy is a lengthy process inseparably linked with the general process of socialist construction. "As regards the question of transformations among the national minorities," says comrade Ulanfu, "we cannot rush matters; in some cases we must show the necessary restraint, and then prolonged work will correctly reflect the real status and requirements of the nationality question."*

(* Ibid., p. 237; see also Wang Feng, "Successes in the Solution of the National Question in China," Za prochnyy mir, za narodnyyu demokratiyu, 14 May 1954; The Nationality Policy of Our State, edited by Chiu-P'u, "T'ung-su-tu-wu-chu-pan-she" Publishing House, Peiping, 1955, p. 25.)

Likewise of importance is the firm establishment of party organs in the districts of local national autonomy, without which it would be very difficult to implement party leadership among the national minorities. The steady carrying out of the policy of the firm establishment of the party organs also constitutes a very important task for the Communist Party.

Surmounting great difficulties, the local party organs and organs of the people's power have achieved considerable successes in the work of firmly establishing the state and party apparatuses under the leadership of the CC CPC and relying on the fraternal unselfish aid of the Chinese people.

Summarizing the results of work in the national districts of the country, the newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao stated that "a noticeable development has taken place in the national organs of self-rule in the national autonomous districts. For this purpose, from among the national minorities cadres of workers have been trained which have then been placed in suitable posts in the organs of self-rule. In those national districts the population of which has its own written language, special attention has been taken to see that the work in the organs of self-rule of a given district be conducted in the language of the given nationality."*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 28 August 1954.)

For example, the People's Government of the Tibetan Autonomous District of Hikang Province, set up in 1950, has worked out a series of concrete measures for the introduction of the national language into the conduct of affairs of the organs of self-rule and has called upon all Chinese workers employed in the district to study the Tibetan language. The directives and other documents of the government are

being published in the Tibetan and Chinese languages.*
(* Wang Feng, "Successes in the Solution of the Nationality Question in China," Za prochnyy mir, za narodnyyu demokraciyu! 14 May 1954.)

In mid-1953 in the national autonomous okrug of the Tsang nationality of Sikang Province, 97% of the members of the local people's governments were representatives of this nationality. They held the major posts in these governments.*

(* Yao Dan, "New Victories in the Cause of National Unity," Jen-min Jih-pao, 20 May 1953.)

Important achievements in the matter of firmly establishing the organs of self-rule have been achieved also by such autonomous districts as the Autonomous Oblast of Inner Mongolia, the Korean Yen-pan Autonomous Okrug in Kirin Province in Northeast China,* the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, and many others.

(* Sha To, "On the Advantages of the Policy of Self-Rule in the Districts of National Autonomy," Tse-cheng-fa-yen-chiu, 1956, No. 1, p. 29.)

The introduction of the local language into the conduct of affairs by the apparatus of self-rule and the drawing into that apparatus of cadres of local nationalities has made it possible better to popularize the measures of the people's power, has brought the organs of self-rule closer and made them more understandable to the basic population, and has increased the active participation of the broad masses of the toilers of the various nationalities in the cause of building socialism and in the administration of the state.

As regards firmly establishing the apparatus of self-rule, the Communist Party and the People's Government of China consider it a profoundly class measure of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a very important means for bringing the state and party apparatus closer to the masses, a weapon in the struggle against nationalist elements and for the correct solution of the nationality question in the country.

5. One of the principles of local national autonomy is democratic centralism.

Comrade Chou En-lai, in a report on the work of the government of the CPR at the First Session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, stated that "democratic centralism, collegial leadership, and the policy of reliance on the support of the masses are the guiding principles in the work of all of our state organs."*

(* Materialy pervoy sessii Vsekitayskogo Sobraniya narodnykh predstaviteley, Publishing House of Pravda, 1954, p. 144.)

Democratic centralism in the Chinese People's Republic signifies centralized planning and leadership from the central point in the solution of the most important questions in the economic and state life of the country with the maximum of local creative initiative and activity.

Democratic centralism in the CPR ensures unity of aim and action regarding all nationalities, contributing to their many-sided development in accordance with their national characteristics.

"In our state organs," says comrade Chou En-lai, "a system of democratic centralism is being carried out under which it is necessary to combine broad democracy with a high degree of centralism. We are not striving for democracy for the sake of democracy. We wish to have a broad democracy in order to unite all our forces in the joint building of socialism and the development of the productive forces of the country. If there were only democracy without centralism, it would be impossible to ensure that all the people of the country would carry out in an organized manner the struggle along common lines and according to a single plan; that is, it would be impossible to achieve the great goal of building a socialist society."*

(* Chou En-lai, "Report on the Work of the Government at the IV Session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives on 26 June 1957," Narodnyy Kitay (supplement) 1957, No. 14, p. 29.)

Centralism in the CPR, being democratic, is based on the economic and political foundations of the people's democratic state and on the mutual trust and cooperation of the peoples of China.

Carrying out a policy of centralization as regards the main basic questions of the building of socialism, the people's democratic state supports and develops in every way the creative initiative of the districts of local national autonomy, lends them the necessary assistance, takes account of the special circumstances of their development, etc. The legal status of all the districts of local national autonomy included in the CPR is defined in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. They are considered a part of the territory of the country. Their organs of self-rule "are under the united leadership of the Central People's Government and are subject to the guidance of the next higher people's governments."* (* Article 2, "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy," Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty KNR, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, p. 97.)

This principle is developed further and is legally strengthened in Articles 3 and 66 of the Constitution.

Democratic centralism is tangibly expressed in the structure of the organs of self-rule of the districts of local national autonomy, in the mutual relationships of these organs, in the sphere and order of their activities. It includes, first, the electiveness of the organs of power, that is, of the Congress of People's Representatives in the districts of local national autonomy; second, their responsibility to the higher organs of people's power and removability; third, periodic accountability of the deputies of the Congresses of People's Representatives to the electors and the right of the recall of deputies by their electors; fourth, the binding effect of decisions of the higher organs of the people's power as regards lower organs; fifth,

direction by the higher organs of people's power of the activities of the lower organs and supervision of their activities; sixth, broad opportunities for the display of local national initiative and local national creativity.

Democratic centralism makes possible the carrying out of state administration under consideration of both the general state tasks and all the diverse conditions among the nationalities. This combination ensures that the national minorities will be adequately represented in the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives by the 177 special representatives who not only take part in the solution of the general state tasks but also defend the interests of their nationalities.

In China such are the main principles of local national autonomy which characterize its socialist nature.

3. Forms of Autonomy of Local Nationalities in the Chinese People's Republic

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China are utilizing various forms of local national autonomy in order to encompass the state organizations of all the national minorities, and to consider their needs and requests. In accordance with Article 3 of the Constitution of the CPR, local national autonomy is being implemented in all districts where national minorities live in compact settlements, regardless of the percentage they comprise of the population of the given district.

According to national composition all districts of local national autonomy are divided into three main types:* districts in which the inhabitants belong to a single national minority; districts in which the majority of the inhabitants belong to a single national minority and in which there is an area inhabited by a small number of compactly settled members of other national minorities; districts populated by two or more national minorities. Each of these types of districts of local national autonomy represents a link in a single form of autonomy -- administrative autonomy.

(* See Article 4, "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," *ibid.*, pp. 97-98.)

In accordance with the size of the national minorities, their compactness of settlement, and the size of the territory they occupy, a corresponding type of administrative autonomy is set up, that is, one or another type of district of national autonomy.

Article 58 of the Constitution of the CPR provides for the following forms of national autonomy: autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and autonomous county.

The autonomous oblast is the largest national state unit. It is directly subordinated to the center. The autonomous oblast is characterized by a large population, the compactness of its settlement

by national minorities, and a large territory. At the present time in China there exist four such oblasts: the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Oblast, set up in May 1947, even before the proclamation of the CPR; the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Oblast; and the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Oblast.

The area of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Oblast comprises more than 1,000,000 square kilometers.* It has a population of more than 6 million people, including about one million Mongols.**

(* Narodnyy Kitay, 1955, No. 10, p. 18.)

(** Razvitiye narodnogo khozystva Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Development of the National Economy of the Chinese People's Republic/, Foreign-Trade Publishing House, 1956, p. 7.)

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast occupies an area equal to one sixth of China -- 1,710,000 square kilometers.* This oblast is twice as large as Afghanistan or many European states. Its population consists of more than 5 million people* of which 3 million are Uighurs.**

(* Narodnyy Kitay, 1955, No. 19, p. 9.)

(** Druzhba, 30 December 1956.)

The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Oblast is one of the largest national districts of the country. It occupies an area of more than 215,000 square kilometers. The population of the oblast exceed 19 million persons, of which 7 million are Chuangs.*

(* Ibid., 1958, No. 13, p. 10.)

The territory of the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Oblast covers more than 77,000 square kilometers. The population of this oblast is about 1,728,000, of which more than one third are Hui people.*

(* Ibid., 8 June 1957.)

The level of the social development of the peoples living in the autonomous oblasts is not uniform. For example, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast is economically and culturally more developed than the Inner Mongolian Oblast. This is to be explained by the particular course of the historical development of their respective peoples.

The next type of local national autonomy is the autonomous okrug.

An autonomous okrug is a national state formation encompassing those national minorities constituting a compactly settled group of considerable size occupying a comparatively large area. By late 1958, 34 autonomous okrugs had been set up in China. An autonomous okrug occupies an area of about 20,000 to 30,000-35,000 square kilometers, usually with a population of 1 to 2 million. For example, the area of the Tsin-tung-nan Autonomous Okrug of the Miao and T'ung nationalities, set up in July 1956, is 26,000 square kilometers. It has a population of more than 1,800,000 people, of which there are 700,000 Miao, 430,000 T'ung, 580,000 Chinese, and 9,000 other nationalities. The area of the Tsin-nan Autonomous Okrug of the Pu-yi nationality, set up in August 1956, is 29,000 square kilometers; its population is 1,860,000, including 780,000 Pu-yi, 220,000 Miao,

110,000 Shui, 740,000 Chinese, and more than 10,000 of other nationalities. The territory of the Ta-li Autonomous Okrug of the Pai nationality, set up in Yunnan Province in November 1956, covers more than 30,000 square kilometers and its population consists of more than 1,600,000 persons, of which more than 525,000 are Pai, 778,000 are Chinese, more than 172,000 are Yi, and more than 26,000 are Hui, with over 15,000 representing other nationalities.*

(* Ibid., 19 June 1957.)

However, there are autonomous okrugs with smaller populations. For example, the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast has 775,000 persons,* of which 53% are Kazakhs. The autonomous okrug of the Hui nationality, set up in late 1956 in Kansu Province has a population of 800,000.** The Sandzhi Autonomous Okrug of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast has a population of 98,306, of which 37.23% are Tung-kang.*** The Autonomous Okrug of Borotala has a population of 41,109, of which 24.6% are Mongols.**** The Autonomous Okrug of Baingolen has a population of 57,168, of which 35% are Mongols.***** The Kirghiz Autonomous Okrug of Kyzyl-Su has a population of 130,000, of which 36% are Kirghiz.*****

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 11 December 1954.)

(** Druzhba, 29 November 1956.)

(*** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 24 July 1954.)

(**** Ibid., 22 July 1954.)

(***** Ibid., 11 July 1954.)

(***** Ibid., 20 July 1954.)

Thus the size of the territories and that of the populations of autonomous okrugs are very unequal. But they all include those national minorities representing the most numerous compact groups living within territories of considerable size.

An autonomous okrug is subordinated to an autonomous oblast or province.

The smallest unit of local national autonomy is the autonomous county. It is composed of those national minorities which form small compact groups and occupy small areas. In all, according to data for late June 1957, 54 autonomous counties have been set up in the country.

The territory of an autonomous county covers about 10,000 square kilometers, and its population as a rule varies between 10,000 and 40,000. For example, the Kung-shan Autonomous County of Yunnan Province is composed of two nationalities, of which there are more than 2,500 persons of the Tu-lun nationality and more than 12,000 of the Nu.*

(* Druzhba, 30 January 1957.)

In the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast there are autonomous counties composed of national minorities numbering from 10,000 to 40,000 people. For example, in the Tadzhik Autonomous County of Tashkurgan there are 10,238 people belonging to six nationalities,

of which 38.1% are Tadzhiks;* in the Siberian Autonomous County of Chapchal there are 35,433 people, of which 28% are Hsi-po;** the Kazakh Autonomous County of Mu-er has 21,058 people,*** of which 33% are Kazakhs. In the Barkul'skiy Kazakh Autonomous County there are 24,180 people of which 31% are Kazakhs;**** the Karasharskiy Tung-kang Autonomous County has 28,830 people, of which 32.7% are Tung-kang.*****

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 25 September 1956.)

(** Sinkiang Gazette, 18 April 1954.)

(*** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 7 August 1954.)

(**** Ibid., 30 September 1954.)

(***** Sinkiang Gazette, 10 April 1954.)

However, there are autonomous counties with larger populations. For example, in the autonomous county of the Shui nationalities, which was set up in Kweichow Province, there are more than 160,000 people, of which 102,000 are Shui.*

(* Druzhba, 18 January 1957.)

Thus the national counties basically represent national-state units with small territories and small populations. They are subordinate to autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, or provinces.

Created in China before the adoption of the Constitution of the CPR, besides autonomous counties, okrugs, and oblasts, were several hundred national autonomous rayons each with a few thousand inhabitants. When the national autonomous rayons were formed, the size of their territories was as a rule not considered. All of them -- from volosts to provinces -- were called national autonomous rayons, and appropriate organs of self-rule were set up in each of them. Such practice of national construction was shown by experience to cause confusion in the system of national administrative-territorial organization, and lessened the possibility of assigning to them a definite place in this system. As a result, the Constitution of the CPR, embodying the results of 4 years' of work experience in the national districts, established three forms of national autonomous districts: autonomous county, autonomous okrug, and autonomous oblast. In districts having compact settlements of national minorities smaller in number than those of a county, the organization of autonomous rayons is inexpedient. In the necessary cases, national volosts are created here. However, these are not autonomous units.

In late December 1955, for the purpose of regulating the matter of national construction in the country, the State Council of the CPR adopted a series of decisions,* in accordance with which there took place the process of transforming the national autonomous districts into autonomous counties, autonomous okrugs, or national volosts.

(* "Instructions On the Transformation of National Autonomous Districts into the Corresponding Types of District," "Instructions on a Few Questions of the Creation of National Volosts," "Instructions on Changes in Local National Democratic Combined Governments," in Hsin-hua Pan-yu-kan, 1956, No. 3, pp. 12-14.)

Observing the principle of equality of rights and voluntariness, the boundaries of each national autonomous district are determined under consideration of its historical conditions, the relations between the national minorities living in the given district, and local economic conditions.

The existence of several forms of administrative autonomy in the CPR is evidence, in our opinion, of its flexibility, which permits all the national minorities to be included in state organizations, as well as consideration of the peculiarities of the ways of life, cultures, and languages of nationalities which stand at completely different levels of social development.

The diversity of forms of local national autonomy in the CPR makes it possible to unite the erstwhile backward masses of various nationalities on the country's borders with the working class of China, and, under the leadership of the latter and with its aid, to provide for their many-sided development, politically, economically, and culturally.

The different forms of local national autonomy possess a wider sphere of rights in comparison with the corresponding administrative units.

The extent of their rights is shown above all in the powers of the organs of self-rule of the autonomous units. Besides the general functions of local state organs, they exercise a whole series of other powers* granted by the constitutions and other legislative acts. The constitutions and other legislative acts of the CPR do not establish any sort of variations in essence between the legal statuses of the various autonomous units.**

(* An analysis of these powers is given in Chapter III.)

(** See Articles 67-72 of the Constitution of the CPR, Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 47-48.)

According to Article 24 of "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," all autonomous rights "are in principle granted to all the national autonomous districts, and their exercise should conform to the administration level of the given national autonomous districts."* Thus the links of local national autonomy in the CPR are distinguished among themselves only by the scope of their autonomous rights, their character remaining unchanged.

(* Ibid., p. 101.)

Just as the province is distinguished from the county, so is the autonomous oblast distinguished from the autonomous county.

The existence of various levels of administrative autonomy makes it possible for each nationality and national group to utilize that level which will best contribute to the speedy overcoming of the social-political and economic-cultural backwardness inherited from the old order.

All the forms of local national autonomy are interconnected through the unity of the political and economic bases of the people's democratic state and the general goal represented by the building of socialism.

The achievements of national, economic, and state construction in the national districts of the CPR during the 10 years of its existence have fully demonstrated the viability of all the forms of local national autonomy, which ensure the free development of all the national minorities and the elimination of existing inequalities in the economic and cultural spheres. The viability of local national autonomy is determined by the nature of the Chinese people's democratic state, a state of the socialist type, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

The construction of local autonomy in the CPR is evidence of the creative utilization of Soviet experience in the solution of the nationality question.

Being a form of self-rule for the nationalities based on general principles, it is built up at the same time under consideration of the local conditions in China.

We may note the following peculiarities of local national autonomy in comparison with Soviet autonomy.

1. One of the peculiarities of local national autonomy in the CPR is that it is set up within the framework of a unitary Chinese people's democratic state, while national state construction in the USSR was carried out under the conditions of a federative state.

2. Local national autonomy in the CPR takes the form of administrative autonomy. The autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, and autonomous county are different links of a single form of local national autonomy -- administrative autonomy. Article 53 of the Constitution of the CPR states that they are all districts of national autonomy.

Soviet autonomy, however, takes the form of both administrative and political autonomy.

In the Chinese literature the question of the forms and degree of development of local national autonomy in China are variously treated.

Feng Tzu-t'ung, for example, considers the local national autonomy in the CPR as identical with Soviet autonomy. He says that in the implementation of the autonomy of the national districts in which compact national minorities live, there had to be -- because of differences in size and diversity of conditions -- not only different forms of autonomy but also different degrees thereof.*

(* Feng Tzu-t'ung, "On the Nature of the Basic Principles of the Draft of the Constitution on the Nationality Question," Sinkiang She, 1954, No. 9, p. 5.)

Sha-to and An-chuan are of a different opinion. For example, Sha-to writes that "the forms and degrees of our national autonomy are not identical with those of the Soviet."* An-chuan supports this point of view.** They criticize Feng Tsu-t'ung for the attempt to mechanically apply to China the experience of Soviet autonomy policy.

(* Sha-to, "Sha-to, "On the Question of the Forms and Degrees of District National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," Cheng-fa Yen-chiu, 1955, No. 2, p. 44.)

(** An-chuan, "On the Forms of District National Autonomy in Our Country," Ibid., 1955, No. 5, p. 48.)

In our view, this position is more correct, considering the administrative character of local national autonomy.

3. The diversity of forms of local national autonomy is defined above all by the size of the national minorities, the compactness of their settlements, and the extent of the territories they occupy. In the Soviet Union, however, the diversity of forms of autonomy are mainly determined by the level of the social-economic development of the nationality in question, the size of its population, and other factors.

4. All the forms of local national autonomy in the CPR have an equal number of autonomous rights! The basis for the delimitation of competence between the various forms of local national autonomy is their administrative position. In the Soviet Union the various forms of autonomy have different degrees of autonomous rights, because administrative and political autonomy exists in the USSR.

5. In the Chinese People's Republic one certain nationality, in the presence of certain conditions, can have several forms of local national autonomy in different districts of the country.

This is explained by the fact that in the CPR national state construction is carried out under the conditions of the great territorial dispersal of the national minorities resulting from the colonial policies of the ruling classes of the old China. One certain nationality, for example, follows its path of socialist development in different regions of the country. For instance, the Hui-tzu (Tung-kang) live mainly in the Kansu, Shensi, and Sinkiang provinces, but also in the Szechwan, Yunnan, Qinghai, and Ningxia provinces, as well as in several other districts. In all these districts the Hui-tzu have different forms of local national autonomy. For the country as a whole, the Hui-tzu have, according to data up to mid-July 1957, four autonomous okrugs and 10 autonomous counties.*

(* Druzhba, 17 July 1957.)

In the Soviet Union, in the district where it is mainly and most compactly settled, a certain nationality is made an autonomous unit and given either political or administrative autonomy.

The Chinese comrades, comparing local national autonomy in China with that in the Soviet Union, understand its flexibility differently. For example, Feng Tzu-t'ung states that "we do not have such large

variations in the degree of autonomy existing in districts of compactly settled national minorities as in the Soviet Union. Instead, there is a corresponding flexibility."*

(* Feng Tsu-t'ung, "On the Nature of the Basic Principles of the Draft of the Constitution on the Nationality Question," Sinkiang She, 1954, No. 9, p. 5.)

This point of view has been criticized by Sha-to, who has maintained that "our autonomy is not flexible."*

(* Sha-to, "On the Question of the Forms and Degree of District National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," Cheng-fa Yen-chiu, 1955, No. 2, p. 44.)

Sha-to supports his position on the ground that just as the forms and degrees of local national autonomy in China are not identical with those of Soviet autonomy, so neither is it flexible. He associates flexibility of autonomy exclusively with its development, and not with the manner in which it encompasses the state organization of different national minorities standing at completely different levels of social development. Developing his position, Sha-to writes: "If we follow this tenet, saying that the forms and degree of development of our district autonomy can be considered analogous to that of the Soviet, this signifies recognition of the possibility of their being transformed into autonomous republics, and -- logically pursuing the thought -- the different nationalities of our country could have the right to form separate governments, districts of national autonomy could detach themselves. Thus this tenet on the forms and degrees of district autonomy in our country is contrary to the spirit of the constitution and of course is erroneous."* Nan Chou also shares this point of view. Thus they associate their negative attitude towards the question of the flexibility of local national autonomy in China entirely with the question of the forms and degrees of its development.

(* Sha-to, op. cit., p. 44.)

There is no doubt that this point of view is correct. But it must be made more precise. The fact is that the flexibility of local national autonomy should be considered not only from the point of view of the development of its forms, but also from that of the degree of the inclusion of the national minorities by the state organization as regards the goal of accelerating their economic, cultural, and political development. In our opinion, Feng Tsu-t'ung considers the flexibility of local national autonomy exactly from this point of view, but defining its development in the sense of a transition from one form to another. He shows how the implementation of autonomous rights by the different levels of local national autonomy promote the cause of the economic and cultural development of the national minorities in accordance with their national characteristics. It is in this sense that he understands the flexibility of local national autonomy, with which it is impossible to disagree. In this sense, of course, local national autonomy in China is identical with Soviet autonomy.

They are identical also in their class nature and in their roles. Local national autonomy in China, as in the Soviet Union, is socialist in nature and serves as a very important means for the solution of the nationality question in the CPR.

"Despite various differences from Soviet autonomy, it is completely one with it in spirit, being likewise directed towards the strengthening of the unity of the nationalities under the leadership of the advanced detachment of the working class -- the Communist Party, which is leading the people towards the enlightenment and happiness of a socialist society."*

(* Ibid.)

Evidences of this are the successes in the matter of national, state, and economic construction in the nationality districts and specifically in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL-TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE OF THE SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

1. The Structure of Autonomy of Local Nationalities in Sinkiang

The Communist Party worked on the practical implementation of local national autonomy from the first days of the existence of the people's democratic power.

For the purpose of successfully conducting the nationality policy of the people's democratic government, special local organs of state administration were set up -- Committees on the Affairs of Nationalities. These were charged with the tasks of ensuring equality of rights among the nationalities, organizing local national autonomy, and guiding all matters of state, economic, and cultural construction in the national districts of the country.*

(* Zahonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki /Legislative Acts of the Chinese People's Republic/, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, pp. 414, 415.)

The Committees began their work by studying the living conditions of the various nationalities of China and granting aid to them for political, economic, and cultural development. For this, in 1950-1951, the Committee on the Affairs of Nationalities under the Central People's Government appointed a number of governmental delegations* which were sent into the national districts of Northwest and Central-South China. Here they not only acquainted themselves with the living conditions of the national minorities, their economies and cultures, ways of life, spoken and written languages, etc., but also did a great deal of work among the local populations in clarifying the nature of the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China. They also provided direct aid in the organization of their life on the new socialist foundations.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 20 March 1952.)

Special delegations and the members of local people's governments were sent to the districts of the national minorities. For example, in 1951 the Military-Administrative Committee of Central-South China and the Szechwan and Tuy-chou People's Governments sent delegations into the national districts for the purpose of studying their social-economic situation.*

(* Ibid.)

Of great importance for strengthening the unity and assuring closer cooperation of the nationalities were the visits of delegations from the national districts of the country to the city of Peiping, where the delegates were received by the Central People's Government. In the years 1950 and 1951 alone, 18 such delegations numbering 900 persons representing more than 40 nationalities visited Peiping.*

(* Ibid.)

In December 1951, the Committee on the Affairs of Nationalities under the Central People's Government held a large meeting at which the various results of work in the national districts were presented and the first experiences of the introduction of local national autonomy in several of them were summarized.

By this time there had been created in China 130 national autonomous districts* on the scale of the usual administrative rayons.** (* Liu Ke-p'in, "Successes of National Construction in People's China," Narodnyy Kitay, 1952, No. 24, p. 7.)

(** An administrative rayon is the administrative-territorial unit which follows the volost. Such units have existed up to the present time in several provinces and autonomous oblasts of the CPR.)

Summing up some results of the implementation of the policy of local national autonomy, Jen-min Jih-pao noted: "At the present time in those localities where local national autonomy is being implemented there is apparent an historically unprecedented happy excitement and drive towards enlightenment. Thanks to the right to be "master of their own hearths," among the nationalities being given local autonomy animate activity and self-reliance have become apparent, unity within the nationalities has been strengthened, and mutual relations between the nationalities have become characterized by a spirit of concord, friendship, and love."*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 13 August 1952.)

Experience in realizing local national autonomy in China has shown that it is necessary, first, to consider properly the specific characteristics and situation in the districts inhabited by the national minorities; second, to strengthen the unity of the country and of each person individually; third, to strive to give a national character to the autonomous organs of power; fourth, to raise to the highest level political and cultural work and economic development in the national autonomous districts. Considering these requirements, a broad program of measures for the introduction of local national autonomy began to be put into practice in all the nationality districts of China in late August 1952.

In order to successfully implement local national autonomy it was necessary to provide for the training of local national cadres. The Communist Party and the People's Government of China have paid enormous attention to this task. In November 1950 the State Administrative Council adopted a resolution on the training of cadres from among the national minorities. A Central Institute for National Minorities was opened in Peiping. Moreover, eight branches of this institute were set up in Northwest, Southwest, and Central-South China. Representatives of all the nationalities of the country were taught in these institutions.

Set up in Sinkiang, as in many of the other national districts of China, was also an institute of national minorities which trained cadres from among the various nationalities of the oblast. This institute had trained 860 students by 1954.* In recent years its

student body has increased considerably.

(* Ibid., 28 August 1954.)

The Communist Party and the People's Government of Chia, taking account of the lack of national cadres, are making wide use of diverse forms and methods of training workers from among the local population.

In Sinkiang, in the first 3 years after the liberation, 26,909 persons completed the programs of various schools and courses.

A party school has been opened for training supervisory national cadres in Sinkiang. For the broad masses of Sinkiang the doors have been opened wide not only to teaching institutions, schools, and courses in the oblast itself, but also to higher and secondary schools in other provinces of China.

For representatives of the national minorities of Sinkiang, just as for the other national districts of the country, admission to the educational institutions is provided for under favorable conditions.

The successful training of national cadres has made it possible to use them in the local apparatus of state power and to bring the apparatus close to the erstwhile oppressed peoples. By late 1952, according to incomplete data, working in the organs of people's power in the volosts and counties of the province were more than 30,500 persons* representing various nationalities. Among the supervisory workers of the provincial and city organs local national cadres constituted 50.7%; among the county organs, 67.93%.

(* Kuang-ming Jih-pao, 20 November 1952.)

A large number of representatives of the national minorities are engaged in supervisory work in the party committees at the various levels. For example, in the provincial and local bureaus of the CPC in Sinkiang in late 1952, 22.3% of the workers were members of local cadres.

The participation of national cadres in the work of the state apparatus in Sinkiang has made it more flexible, better able to consider carefully the diverse interests of all the nationalities and to actively assist them in their economic and cultural development.

The training of cadres from among the local nationalities, the strengthening of the people's democratic order, and the accomplishments in the matter of the democratization of the social and political life of the country have created the conditions for the establishment in the national districts of local national autonomy.

The order of setting up the autonomous national districts and the organs of their self-rule was laid down in a very important document on the nationality question of the Central People's Government of China -- "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," adopted in August 1952.*

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 97-105.)

Guided by this legislative act, the local party organs and organs of people's power in Sinkiang have embarked on the establishment of local national autonomy in the province. First to be set up were the lower national administrative units -- national volosts and national rayons in which the inhabitants belong mainly to a single national minority. Then, the necessary experience having been accumulated, party organs and organs of people's power set about to create large national administrative units -- autonomous counties and autonomous okrugs. The final stage of this work was establishing the large national administrative units -- autonomous districts on a provincial scale.

The basis for establishing national autonomy in Sinkiang was laid by the second provincial conference of people's representatives of various nationalities from all segments of the population. It was held in late August and early September 1952. At the conference a special preparatory committee was set up for the implementation of national autonomy in Sinkiang. The committee was made up of 45 persons representing different nationalities.

This committee organized among the population a broad program to explain the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China, and the basic principles of the program for the implementation of local national autonomy in the country. The committee also investigated and studied conditions among the different nationalities of Sinkiang, their mutual relations, religious faiths, languages, ways of life, cultures, etc.

On the basis of a study of the national composition of the districts of Sinkiang, the committee, in accordance with the basic principles of the program for local national autonomy, worked out concrete measures for the implementation of this program. In the summer of 1953, special courses were set up to train cadres of workers from among the national minorities to carry out the program of national autonomy in Sinkiang. A total of 296 persons were trained in these courses.

Measures for setting up autonomy in the national districts were carried out against a background of a sharp class struggle and the fierce resistance of the bourgeoisie, landlords, kulaks and feudal lords, great-Chinese chauvinists, and local nationalists. Attempting to block the work of the Communist Party and the People's Government in this sphere, the great-power chauvinists opposed the creation of national autonomy. They demagogically maintained that since the people's democratic order had abolished national and social oppression and made the nationalities equal, there was no need at all to set up autonomy in the national districts. Great-Chinese chauvinism reflected the desire of the Chinese exploiters overthrown by the people's revolution to recover their lost rule and to regain their former privileges.

Great-Chinese chauvinism, as comrade Liu Shao-ch'i pointed out, is manifested "in lack of respect for the morals and customs of the

national minorities; their spoken and written languages; in non-acknowledgment of their religious freedom and right to manage their own domestic affairs; in ignoring the national cadres at work in the districts of national minorities; in unwillingness to consult with them in the course of work; in lack of confidence that practical work can develop the capacity necessary for carrying out various measures; etc."* (* Materialy pervoy sessii Vsekitayskogo Sobraniya narodnykh predstaviteley Publishing House of Pravda, 1954, p. 54.)

Favoring the autonomy of national districts, local nationalists were opposed to their subordination to the corresponding people's governments. They maintained that after the introduction of local national autonomy there was no need at all for the guidance of national districts on the part of the higher people's governments, and that in their work these districts could not follow the policy of the state.

Such tendencies resulted from the attempt by the local nationalists to take autonomy into their own hands, and to convert it from a means of solving the nationality question into a means of sharpening it. Local nationalists objected to cadres leaders of Chinese and other nationalities being drawn into the organs of self-rule in the districts of national autonomy. They were thus attempting to undermine the friendship between the Chinese people and the toiling masses of other nationalities.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China the toiling masses frustrated the insidious plans of the sworn enemies of the people -- local nationalists and great-power chauvinists, landlords, kulaks, and beys. The latter were not able to hinder the party organs and organs of the people's power in creating the conditions for establishing autonomy in the national districts.

By the end of July 1954 there had been set up in Sinkiang about 30 districts of national autonomy, including nine autonomous districts on the scale of volosts, seven on the scale of an administrative rayon, six on the scale of a county, and four on the scale of an okrug.

The Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug was set up in late 1954 within the territory of the Ili, Tarbagatay, and Altay districts. The population of the okrug set up a local organ of state power -- a Congress of People's Representatives -- on the basis of general elections. In November 1954 the first session of the Congress of People's Representatives of the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug was held in Kul'dzha. Participating were 239 deputies from the various nationalities of the okrug. The session set up a People's Committee of the Kazakh Autonomous District, a local people's government, and an executive organ of the Congress of People's Representatives. The session elected a Kazakh as chairman of the People's Committee, and Chinese, Uighurs, and Kazakhs as deputy chairmen. The session also elected the heads of the other organs of people's power.

The session discussed a number of questions relating to various aspects of the public life of the okrug. It gave a great deal of attention to questions of strengthening the people's power and to the further development of all branches of the national economy, particularly livestock raising.

Expressing heartfelt gratitude towards the Communist Party and the People's Government of China for their concern and many-sided assistance and for making it possible for them to establish autonomous rule, the deputies expressed their desire to take an active part in building the people's democratic order, raising the productivity of agriculture and industry, and strengthening friendship with the great Chinese people and all the other peoples of the country.

One of the most important measures of the people's power in the implementation of local national autonomy in Sinkiang has been the wise and correct solution of many quarrels between the national minorities, some of which had persisted for tens and even hundreds of years. For example, in the spring of 1953 the administrative committee of Northwest China called a meeting in the city of Lanchow to study questions of mutual relations between the Kazakhs and other nationalities of the border districts of the Kansu, Tsinghai, and Sinkiang provinces. These peoples had been at loggerheads for more than 10 years.* This meeting invited 135 persons. Among them were representatives of Kazakhs, Mongols, Tibetans, Uighurs, Tung-kang, Chinese, and other nationalities of Northwest China.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 7 April 1953.)

A resolution was adopted at the meeting to grant aid to the Kazakhs in their transition from a nomadic to a settled way of life. In connection with this, the Mongols of the border districts of the Kansu and Tsinghai provinces voluntarily gave part of their pasture lands to the Kazakhs. It was also decided to help the Kazakhs in setting up their own national autonomous district.

In consideration of the low level of the economy and the severe living conditions of the toiling Kazakhs, a result of the colonial policy of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and their local bosses, the People's Government is providing material assistance for the Kazakhs.

After the adoption of the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, which newly asserted and strengthened the principle of local national autonomy, preparatory work started in Sinkiang in early 1955 on the creation of a Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. In February 1955 a special committee was formed to carry out this work. By the end of August 1955, the preparatory work in creating the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast had been completed. In September 1955 the Permanent Committee of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives ratified the resolution of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic concerning the creation of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. The second session of the Congress of

People's Representatives of Sinkiang Province, held on 30 September 1955, officially proclaimed the founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

All the previously-created national autonomous districts now came to form elements of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast with rights of local national autonomy.

The address of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic to the second session, first convocation, of the Congress of People's Representatives of Sinkiang Province declares: "The formation of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous District is still another great victory of the nationality policy of our country, and is the result of the close solidarity and joint efforts of the multi-national people of Sinkiang over the last few years. The formation of this district will increase still further the unity of the Uighurs and other nationalities of Sinkiang; will contribute to the development of the Sinkiang district politically, economically, and culturally; and will impel the multi-national people of Sinkiang to make a still larger contribution to the cause of the building of socialism and socialist transformations in our great Fatherland."*

(* Druzhba, 6 October 1955.)

2. The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast Within the Chinese People's Republic

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast is one of the largest districts of local national autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic. In the northwest Sinkiang borders on the Soviet Union (the Kirghiz, Kazakh, Tadzhik SSRs) for a distance of about 2,600 kilometers; in the northeast, on the Mongolian People's Republic; in the southwest, on Afghanistan and India; in the south and east, on Tibet and the Tsinghai and Kansu provinces.

In Sinkiang there are 13 nationalities. The most numerous of these are the Uighurs. They number 3,640,000 persons.* They live mainly in Kashgaria -- in the southern part of Sinkiang in the oasis districts of Cherchek, Keriya, Kargalyk, Yarkend, Merket, Maralbashi, Kucha. A considerable number of them also live in northern Sinkiang -- in Dzungaria, particularly in Iliyskiy Okrug in the Turfanskiy and Khamiyskiy oasis.

(* The numerical composition of the remaining nationalities is from the article of S. I. Bruk: "Ethnic Composition of the Uighur Autonomous District of the Chinese People's Republic," Sovetskaya etnografiya [Soviet Ethnography], 1956, No. 2, p. 91.)

The Uighurs have a comparatively high cultural level.

The Uighurs are mostly engaged in agriculture. They raise corn, wheat, barley, and cotton. They have also developed market gardening and silk culture. Trade and handicraft are supplementary occupations, and in a number of places, mainly on the northern slope of the Kuen'-Lun' and on the upper reaches of the Yarkend, Khotan, and Keriya rivers, the Uighurs are cattle raisers.

The second largest element in the population of Sinkiang are Kazakhs, who number about 500,000 persons. They are settled to the north of the Tien Shan mountain system; in the area of three former okrugs -- the Altayskiy, Iliyskiy, and Tarbagatayskiy, which are not included in the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug, and also in the Barkul'skiy and Urumchinskiy okrugs.

The main activity of the Kazakhs is cattle raising, but among one part of the population it is agriculture. Subsidiary activities are hunting, hide dressing, tanning leather, etc.

More than 6% of the population of Sinkiang are Chinese, numbering about 300,000 persons. They live mostly in the cities of Sinkiang, but there are many of them in the eastern and central parts of Dzungaria. A considerable number of Chinese live in the cities of Urumchi and Barkul' and the surrounding villages.

In eastern and central Sinkiang, besides Chinese, there are Tung-hai. They, like the Chinese, live mostly in the large cities. They constitute 4.1% of the population of Sinkiang, or about 200,000 persons. The Tung-hai are engaged in market gardening and handicrafts.

In Sinkiang live more than 70,000 Kirghiz. They are mainly settled in southwestern Sinkiang, in the Tien Shan mountain area.

In the southwestern districts of Sinkiang -- in the Tashkurgan district and in the valley of the Tiznaf River and its tributaries -- live Tadzhiks. They number about 15,000 persons, or 0.3% of the total population, and are settled mainly in the valleys of the Yarkend-Dar'ye and Kilyan-Su rivers. Their main occupation is cattle raising, but some of them engage in agriculture.

A considerable part of the population of Sinkiang consists of Mongols, who number 120,000 persons, or 2.5% of the total population. They are divided into western Mongols -- Oyraty -- and southeastern -- Chakhary.

The Oyraty consists of three tribal groups -- Torgouty, Khoshouty, and Elety, living in different areas. The Torgouty are settled in various districts of Sinkiang: in the valleys of the Bol'shoy and Malyy Yulduz rivers, on the northern and southern slopes of the Tien Shan. The Khoshouty live in the mountains north of Lake Bagrashkul'. The Elety are settled in the valleys of the Kash, Kunges and Tekes rivers, and also in the Urkashar and Dzhair mountains. A considerable number of Mongols are settled in the valley of the Chernyy Irtys river in the vicinity of Chuguchak and Kul'dzha.

The main occupation of the Mongols is nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle raising, and in some places also agriculture. Subsidiary occupations are hunting, the preliminary processing of hides and sheepskins, and making felt cloth.

In Sinkiang also live Uzbeks and Tatars, the total number of whom amounts to 26,000 people. They are concentrated primarily in Chuguchak, Kul'dzha, Urumchi, and Kashgar and engage in trade, agriculture and handicrafts.

Inhabiting the Kul'dzha, Chuguchak, Suydun, and Kuchen areas is the Manchu-Tungus group, composed of the following nationalities: Manchurians, Hsi-po, Solony, and Daury. They number 20,000 persons and engage in agriculture, crafts, and, to some extent, cattle raising.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast exercises state power within its boundaries on autonomous bases. Each of the peoples in the oblast has its organs of self-rule in accordance with the Constitution of the CPR and the other laws of the country. They use their own language in the organs of self-rule and participate in the organs of state power of the oblast and in the highest organ of state power of the CPR -- the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, electing their own deputies to these organs.

The legal status of the autonomous units in the CPR is defined by both general and special legislation. Article 70 of the Constitution of the CPR stipulates that the organs of self-rule of the autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and autonomous counties may exercise their right of self-rule within the limits defined by the constitutions and other laws of the country.

The main forms of state-legal interrelationships between the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast and the Chinese People's Republic are defined by the Constitution of the CPR, the "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," and by other laws of the Republic conjoining general-state interests and the interests of the national-state formations of the various levels of local national autonomy.

The people's democratic state guarantees consideration of the interests and needs of the autonomous units, which is manifest in that they have their representatives in the highest organ of state power -- the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives. The latter and the State Council of China have created special commissions on the affairs of the various nationalities. The activities of these commissions are directed towards providing for the interests of all the nationalities and national minorities in the economic, cultural, and state life of the country.

The system of interrelationships and state-legal relations in the districts of national autonomy in the CPR is directed towards accomplishment of the main task -- the building of socialism in the country and creating the base for the economic, cultural, and political development of all its peoples.

Interrelations between the organs of branch administration of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, the central state organs of the CPR, and the local organs of power are carried out in accordance with the principle of dual subordination. Dual subordination is the means ensuring both centralization of leadership and local creative initiative. Dual subordination provides for control by local organs of power over the organs of state administration subordinate to them.

Within the competence of the central organs of the CPR under the Constitution are all questions of general significance as regards the whole country. These organs have also been given the right to exercise general leadership and supervision regarding the activities of the organs of self-rule of the districts of local national autonomy.

Within the competence of the CPR in its relations with the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, as with the other autonomous units, are approval of the administrative-territorial division of the oblast, supervision of the work of its organs of self-rule, and approval of policies regarding autonomy and also of individual policies drawn up in the oblast.

The State Council of the CPR exercises day-by-day control of the work of the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. The State Council has the right to change or disallow inadvisable decrees and regulations of the People's Committee, and the Permanent Committee of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives has similar right to change or disallow inadvisable resolutions of the oblast Congress of People's Representatives. Constant supervision of the various branch administrative organs of the oblast is exercised by both the Permanent Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast and the corresponding ministries of the CPR.

As already pointed out, in addition to the general functions of local state organs, the organs of self-rule of the national autonomous districts exercise a whole series of other powers laid down by the constitutions of the CPR and other legislative acts.

On the basis of the Constitution of the CPR and the "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy ...," making policies for the oblast is within the competence of the organs of state power and the organs of state administration of the autonomous units with respect to a considerable range of questions relating to various aspects of state, economic, and socio-cultural development.

For example, according to the "Instruction on the Organization of Congresses of People's Representatives and People's Committees at All Levels of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast,"* adopted on 9 July 1956 at the 43rd meeting of the Permanent Committee of the VSNP, the organs of self-rule, on the basis of a unified state, financial, and economic system and within the limits of the powers granted by the constitutions and other laws of the CPR, handle the following matters: (* Jen-min Jih-pao, 10 July 1956.)

1) In the field of government organization: ensurance of strict observance and execution of the laws, decrees, and decisions of the Central Government organs of the CPR; submission for approval to the State Council the administrative division of the oblast into autonomous okrugs, counties, autonomous counties, and cities.

2) In the field of economic organization: preparation and adoption of a national economic plan and budget for the autonomous oblast; exercise of control over their execution; guidance in the carrying out of okrug, county, city, and volost budgets; collection of local taxes in conformity with the legislative acts of the country; administration of state industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises and organizations of oblast subordination; direction of local industry and markets; direction of the irrigation construction, communications, and public affairs of the oblast, the housing construction and utilities construction of cities and other populated places, road building, and local transportation and communications.

3) In the field of cultural organization: direction of public health activities, social security, the granting of aid to the population, primary and secondary education, cultural enlightenment, the scientific organizations and establishments of the oblast; control and observation of the activities of higher education; control and guidance of organizations of physical culture and sports.

4) In the field of national organization: maintenance of equality of rights for the national minorities; leadership as regards establishing local national autonomy in the districts of the compact settlement of national minorities, and the organization of national volosts; granting aid to the various national minorities in political, economic, and cultural matters.

5) In the field of law and justice: preservation of state and public order and the rights of citizens; organization of judicial organs for the autonomous oblast; control over their activities; etc.

On questions within their competence the organs of self-rule adopt definite acts which must strictly conform to the laws of the CPR and other acts of the highest organs of state power and organs of state administration. The acts of the organs of self-rule are subsequently to be submitted for the approval of the people's governments at higher levels.

The VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Communist Party of China asserted the necessity for further expansion of the rights of districts of local national autonomy. The tasks of socialist building in the CPR have made it necessary "...to carry out a further delimitation of the administrative functions of the central and local organs, in order to improve the administrative system of the state...,"* and to delimit the rights and duties of the autonomous districts in the spheres of planning and finances, the administration of enterprises and establishments, the control of material reserves and cadres.

(* Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s"ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 153.)

Putting into practice the decisions of the Congress, the State Administrative Council in mid-1958 adopted the special resolution "On Temporary Rules for the Administration of Finances in the Districts Of National Autonomy."* This resolution expands considerably the

financial-economic activities of the districts of local national autonomy. According to this resolution, the following are to be included in the revenue part of the budgets of these districts: (a) deductions from profits; (b) taxes on noncommercial operations; (c) local taxes and duties. The monies to be placed at the disposal of the districts of local national autonomy are determined by means of percentage deductions from receipts; from turnover taxes; from taxes levied on buildings in the cities, and cultural institutions; from the tax levied on owners of means of transportation; from the tax levied on owners of livestock; from income taxes; from the tax levied on plots of land (agricultural tax); from trade taxes and others.
(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 16 July 1958.)

The budgets of the districts of local national autonomy provide for the financing of local industrial enterprises, capital construction, social-cultural establishments (primary and secondary schools, hospitals, theaters, libraries, radio stations, movie houses, etc.), enterprises and establishments in the agricultural spheres (suburban state farms, veterinary hospitals, etc.). From these budgets, are paid the costs of all types of agricultural measures (tree planting, livestock raising, etc.) and the costs of supporting the organs of self-rule.

The right has been granted to the districts of local national autonomy to utilize monies received in the course of drawing up budgets for financing economic and socio-cultural measures.

They also have the right to release individual citizens from payment of a tax, or to reduce it if necessary. The districts of local national autonomy, on the basis of "Basic Instructions for the Conduct of the General State Tax Policy,"* have the right to levy new taxes and duties corresponding to local conditions.

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 356-3591)

The expansion of the rights of districts of local national autonomy in the sphere of financial-economic activities has created the conditions for the further broad development of industry, for putting virgin lands under cultivation, developing agriculture, and increasing the material and cultural levels of the various nationalities.

In addition to the above-mentioned general functions carried out by the local government organs, the organs of self-rule in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast also have a number of specific powers.

For example, in accordance with Article 70 of the Constitution of the CPR and Article 9 of the "Instructions," the highest organ of power in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast -- the Congress of People's Representatives -- has the right, within the framework of the military system of the country, to form units of public security, to work out policies on autonomy and other policies to be subsequently submitted for the approval of the Permanent Committee of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, and to exercise control over the carrying out of these Instructions.

The organs of self-rule are obligated to guard the rights of the nationalities; to ensure their equality of rights; and to inculcate on the population mutual respect for their dialects, traditions, customs, and religious convictions. They guarantee to all the inhabitants of a given district freedom of opinion, speech, press, assembly, organization, correspondence, of the person, residence, religious convictions; as well as freedom to organize processions and demonstrations, as provided for in the Constitution of the CPR.

Though possessing broad jurisdiction in the various spheres of economic and cultural organization, the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast does not have exclusive authority in any single branch of the economy or government administration, but performs its functions of government administration under the supervision of the central state organs of the CPR.

However, this does not infringe on the interests of the national minorities which have been granted one or another type of local national autonomy. All the national minorities of the country have unlimited opportunities to develop their economies and cultures, national in form and socialist in content.

3. The Administrative-Territorial Division of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast

The territorial organization of the Chinese People's Republic is called upon to assist in the accomplishment of the tasks and functions of the people's democratic state.* It is in accordance with the requirements of the economic, political, and cultural development both of the CPR as a whole and of each of the administrative-territorial units. The interests on the national minorities of the country are taken into account also, as is the number and density of the population and the gravitation of the population towards certain political, economic, and cultural centers.

(* A more detailed analysis of the character of the administrative-territorial structure of the new China is contained in the article by Hsuen Yi-yuan, "Administrative-Territorial Division of the Chinese People's Republic," Druzhiba, 9 April 1957.)

The entire system of administrative-territorial division is subordinate to the goals of bringing the state apparatus as close as possible to the broad masses of the people, and of drawing them into the administration of the people's democratic state and the work of its organs.

On the basis of the principles just stated, after the victory of the people's revolution there began a process of gradual reorganization of the old system of administrative-territorial division on new, socialist foundations in Sinkiang, as in all the other districts of China. The tasks of the reconstruction of the national economy and the conduct of fundamental democratic transformations made necessary the creation in

the country of the so-called large administrative districts, in which were organized people's governments or military-administrative committees. There were six of these large administrative districts -- Northeast, Northwest, North, East, Southwest, and Central-South China. Also having the status of large administrative units were the autonomous oblast of Inner Mongolia and Tibet. Sinkiang was part of Northwest China, with the rights of a province the administrative-territorial structure of which preserved the previous units -- okrugs, counties, rayons, and volosts.* The entire province was divided into 10 administrative okrugs -- the Urumchinskiy, Iliyskiy, Tarbagatayskiy, Altayskiy, Khamiyskiy, Karasharskiy, Khotanskiy, Kashgarskiy, Aksuyskiy, and Yarkendskiy. Each okrug was in turn divided into counties.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 22 January 1950.)

In all, there were 78 counties: in Urumchinskiy Okrug, 12; in Iliyskiy, 12; Tarbagatayskiy, 6; Altayskiy, 8; Khamiyskiy, 4; Karasharskiy, 7; Khotinskiy, 7; Yarkendskiy, 4; Kashgarskiy, 8; and Aksuyskiy, 10.

Each country was divided into several volosts. After the liberation there were 1,275 volosts in Sinkiang.

Moreover, intermediate links of the administrative-territorial organization were created between the counties and volosts in the form of rayons. There were 958 of these.

Thus the system of administrative-territorial division in Sinkiang consisted of four levels: okrug, county, rayon, and volost.

For convenience in the administration of the special okrugs in the south of Sinkiang and the city of Kashgar, a South Sinkiang Administrative District was created which included the Khotanskiy, Yarkendskiy, Kashgarskiy, and Aksuyskiy okrugs.

These previously-formed links of the administrative-territorial division of Sinkiang Province, which remained preserved up to recent times, received under the people's democratic state a completely different purpose. Using the described system of administrative-territorial division, the People's Government, putting into practice the various democratic transformations and strengthening the people's democratic order, introduced fundamental changes into it. By the end of 1952, in connection with the solution of the tasks of the planned building of socialism, which required intensification of the centralization of the country and implementation of the policy of local national autonomy, great changes took place in the system of the administrative-territorial organization of the CPR.*

(* On this question three very important documents were approved on 15 November 1952 at a meeting of the Central Government: "Instruction On Changes in the Structure and Tasks of the People's Governments (Military-Administrative Committees) of the Large Administrative Districts," "Resolution on Ordering the System of Divisions in Provinces and Districts," and "Resolution on Expansion of the Apparatus of the Central People's Government." Putting into effect these acts contributed to strengthening

the supervision of all work on the part of the Central People's Government, strengthening the organizational structure and intensification of the responsibility of Provincial and city people's governments. See Jin-min Jih-pao, 17 November 1952.)

The large administrative districts were abolished, and several provinces and other administrative-territorial units were reorganized.

In accordance with the requirements of the free development of the national minorities, their characteristics, language, way of life, and the geographical and economic conditions of the national districts, new links of the administrative-territorial division of the country were created -- autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, autonomous counties, and national volosts.

The system of the administrative-territorial organization of China was set forth in Article 53 of the Constitution of the CPR, which states that the entire country is to be divided into provinces, autonomous oblasts, and cities of central subordination; that provinces are to consist of autonomous okrugs, counties, autonomous counties and cities; that counties are to include volosts, national volosts, and settlements.

Thus the Constitution of the CPR established three levels within the administrative-territorial structure of the country: province, county, and volost. The new system brought the local government organs considerably closer to the population and created favorable conditions for a planned national economy.

On the basis of the Constitution of the CPR and under consideration of the specific characteristics of the nationalities within its population, their ways of life, and the economic and other conditions in the province, work was carried out in Sinkiang in the years 1953-1955 on the reorganization of individual links of the administrative-territorial division. Several administrative units were abolished and autonomous national-government units were formed: autonomous okrugs, autonomous counties, and national administrative units -- national volosts.

With the proclamation in late September 1955 of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast the process of the reformation of its system of administrative-territorial organization was basically completed.

Article 2 of the Statute on the organization of the Congresses of People's Representatives and People's Committees at all levels of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast* established the following administrative division of the oblast: autonomous okrug, county, autonomous county, city, municipal rayon, volost, national volost, settlement.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 10 July 1956.)

Thus in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast there are three basic links in the administrative-territorial system: autonomous okrug, county (autonomous county), volost (autonomous volost).*

(* Besides these basic administrative-territorial units, the old links were also preserved in a number of places until recently -- large administrative districts, special okrugs and rayons.

In the 1956-1958 period, the party and government organs of the

Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, with the strengthening of the people's power on the local level, gradually abolished these administrative units, transferring their functions to the corresponding government organs which had been created in the new links of the administrative-territorial division.

For example, in July 1956 the South-Sinkiang Administrative District was abolished. This had consisted of the Khotanskiy, Yarkendskiy, Koshgarskiy, and Aksuyskiy special okrugs. (See Sinkiang Jih-pao, 2 August 1956.)

All the districts of local national autonomy in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast have the right of administrative autonomy, and all the remaining links of the administrative-territorial division have the right to function as administrative units. These relations are in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism and are defined by the administrative structure of each territorial unit.

The Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast is an administrative unit the direction of which is executed directly by the central government organs of the CPR.

The formation or abolition of this administrative unit is to be approved by the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives. The Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast is composed of the subordinate autonomous okrugs, counties, autonomous counties, cities, municipal rayons, volosts, national volosts, and settlements.

The formation or abolition of autonomous okrugs, counties, and autonomous counties is to be approved by the State Council of China.

At the present time in Sinkiang there are five autonomous okrugs: the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug, set up within the territory of the former Iliyskiy, Tarbagatayskiy, and Altayskiy administrative okrugs; the Borotalinskiy Mongol Autonomous Okrug, formed in the northern part of Iliyskiy Okrug; the Sandzhiyskiy Tung-kang Autonomous Okrug, formed in the central part of Urumchinskiy Okrug; the Baingolinskiy Mongol Autonomous Okrug, formed in the southern part of Urumchinskiy Okrug and the northern part of Kashgarskiy Okrug; the Kzyl-Suyskiy Kirghiz Autonomous Okrug, created in the northwestern part of Kashgarskiy Okrug. All these were set up in 1954.

The next link of the administrative-territorial organization is the county. The county is the basic administrative unit connecting the individual links of the higher and lower levels of the government apparatus. Counties play an important role in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country. They play a leading role in the development of agriculture, livestock raising, and other branches of the national economy.

At the present time there are 74 counties in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, each of them having several tens of thousands of inhabitants. Besides administrative counties, there are also six autonomous counties in Sinkiang: the Balikum'skiy Kazakh Autonomous County (eastern part of Khamiyskiy Okrug); the Muliyskiy Kazakh

Autonomous County (northeastern part of Urumchinskiy Okrug); Yandzhiyskiy Tung-kang Autonomous County (Baingolinskiy Mongol Autonomous Okrug); the Chobucharskiy Sibinskiy Autonomous County (western part of Iliyskiy Okrug); the Khobuksarskiy Mongol Autonomous County (northern part of Tarbagatayskiy Okrug); the Tashkurganskiy Tadzhik Autonomous County (southwestern part of Kashgarskiy Okrug). All six autonomous counties were formed in 1954.

Autonomous counties, like autonomous okrugs, are created where there exist one, two, or more national minorities. Most of the autonomous counties were converted from the former counties or border districts having compactly settled national populations.

An important role in the system of the administrative-territorial organization of Sinkiang is played by cities. Depending on their political and economical significance, they are subdivided into cities of oblast and okrug subordination. Urumchi and Keshen' are cities of oblast subordination; Kul'dzha is a city of okrug subordination, being subordinate to the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug.

In the cities there are urban settlements (rayons) each having no less than 100,000 inhabitants. Sometimes urban settlements are formed with less than that many inhabitants, if they constitute large points of the concentration and distribution of material goods, that is, if they constitute in themselves important industrial bases. In the second half of 1956 there were 15 urban settlements in Sinkiang.

The lowest administrative-territorial units are volosts, national volosts, and settlements. The volost is the lowest administrative-territorial unit in the agricultural districts. It consists of several villages. In setting up a volost consideration is given to such important factors as size of the population, natural and economic conditions, and administrative convenience. According to data from late August 1956, there were 2,284 volosts in Sinkiang.*
(* Ili Gazette, 6 September 1956.)

The national volost is also an administrative-territorial unit of the lowest level in districts of the compact settlement of national minorities where the major branches of the economy are agriculture and livestock raising. In the formation of national volosts consideration is given to the relations between the nationalities and the historical conditions.

Nine national volosts have been set up in Sinkiang: the Ichi-gashal'skiy Sibinskiy (Khorgorsskiy County); Durbazarskiy Tung-kang (Pichanskiy County); Chnamuzat-Yngiarskiy Kirghiz (Mongol-Kirinskiy County); Zaravshanskiy Tadzhik (Yarkendskiy County); Azat-Avatskiy Tadzhik (Kaglykskiy County); Rezavatskiy Tadzhik (Guminskiy County); Tavanbulakskiy Mongol and Khuzhuriyskiy Mongol (Tekesskiy County); Kambutinskiy Mongol (Altayskiy County).*

(* The Importance of the Formation of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, "Jen-min," Publishing House, Peking, 1956, p. 92.)

Volosts are divided into three types according to national composition: national volosts created in districts where a single national minority is compactly settled; national volosts created in districts where two or more national minorities are compactly settled; national volosts created in districts where, along with compactly settled national minorities representing the main population, there are also some Chinese. National volosts are created in districts corresponding in size to volosts. In view of the smallness of their territories and populations, as well as other conditions, volosts do not exercise autonomous rights. Therefore national volosts are not districts of national autonomy. However, the local government organs of national volosts carry out a series of concrete functions in conformity with national characteristics and within the framework of the rights laid down by law. The other low-level administrative-territorial units are the settlements, set up mainly in the industrial and trade districts of the oblast inhabited by not less than 2,000 people. Also belonging to them are those settled points which serve as the centers of county and higher government organs.

As a rule, the population of settlements varies between 2,000 and 5,000. In the national districts, however, settlements can be formed with populations of less than 2,000 people, if the predominant proportion of the population is engaged in industry or trade. In 1956 there were 52 settlements in Sinkiang.*
(* Ili Gazettes, 6 September 1956.)

The second general elections to the Congresses of People's Representatives were held in 1956 at all levels of the administrative-territorial division of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. At their first meetings the people's representatives formed their executive organs -- People's Committees.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNMENT ORGANS OF THE SINKIANG UIGHUR AUTONOMOUS OBLAST

1. Organization of the Organs of People's Democratic Power in Sinkiang

The great Chinese people, who carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party the people's democratic revolution, destroyed the exploitative state and its bourgeois-landlord apparatus and created its own new state -- a state of the democratic dictatorship of the people and a new apparatus of state power.

The creation of a new state apparatus in China was carried out according to such decrees as the "Organizational Statute of the People's Political Consultative Council of China," "On the Organization of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic," and the "General Program of the People's Political Consultative Council of China."*

(* Obrazovaniye Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki. Dokumenty i materialy /Formation of the Chinese People's Republic: Documents and Materials/, Gospolitizdat, 1950, pp. 13-20.)

These first laws of the people's democratic China also defined the guidelines for the activities of the organs of people's power, both central and local. They evoked on the part of the toiling masses of the various nationalities of Sinkiang the enormous revolutionary enthusiasm which ensured the triumph of the revolution even in this distant region of the country.

Starting immediately after the peaceful liberation of Sinkiang was the dismantling of the old military-colonial apparatus of the province and the building of a new state apparatus, called on to accomplish the tasks of the democratic dictatorship of the people. Immediately after the People's Liberation Army entered the province, the old Kuomintang organs of power and administration were liquidated.

"The People's Liberation Army, entering the districts settled by the national minorities, carried out a correct nationality policy, created the necessary conditions for their unification, and were warmly received by the people of the national districts."* The People's Liberation Army was supported by the various nationalities of Sinkiang. The Army gave them a great deal of assistance in setting up the organs of people's power.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 20 March 1952.)

The order of setting up these organs was laid down in the "General Program of the People's Political Consultative Council of China," which reflected the peculiarities of this period of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. It foresaw the necessity for establishing in all the just-liberated districts of the country a system of organs of military control. In accordance with this policy of the General Program, military-control committees and local people's

government were set up everywhere in Sinkiang, except in the three northern okrugs, where organs of people's power had already been set up.

"The military control of the People's Liberation Army," said comrade Liu Shao-chi, "is the initial form of the dictatorship of the people's democracy, which suppresses the reactionaries by force and at the same time everywhere protects the people, inspires them, and helps them to set up Conferences of People's Representatives, organs of people's power at all levels, which, as conditions become ripe, are gradually given full power."*

(* Liu Shao-chi, "On the Conferences of People's Representatives," Narodnyy Kitay, 1951, Nos. 7-8, pp. 10, Vol. III.)

The establishment of such a system was very necessary in Sinkiang, because here continuing their operations were various Kuomintang bands and all kinds of traitorous and diversionary secret organizations.

In a number of districts of the province reactionary elements penetrated into the government apparatus and sabotaged in every way the execution of measures of the people's power. For example, of 95 workers in government establishments of the city of Kashgar, after painstaking investigations 53 were revealed as spies of various intelligence organizations.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 2 March 1950.)

The military-control committees successfully suppressed the resistance of the exploiting elements overthrown by the people's revolution, creating conditions for the further organization of organs of people's power and actually engaging in this organization. In each newly-created administrative establishment they assigned military representatives who did a great deal of explanatory work with cadres on the main tasks of organizing the people's democratic power. A great deal of attention was given to the qualifications of workers in the government apparatus. Underlings of imperialism and reaction were removed from office. Representatives of the popular masses of the various nationalities were drawn into the work of the organs of people's power; the military-control committees strengthened the local people's democratic dictatorship of the masses, making it understandable and accessible to the broad masses.

Already with the first constitutional document of the Chinese People's Republic, the General Program of the People's Political Consultative Council of China, adopted in late September 1949, the policy was proclaimed of granting local national autonomy and creating combined democratic governments providing for the representation of each nationality.*

(* Article 51 of "General Program of the People's Political Consultative Council of China," in Obrazovaniye Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki. Dokumenty i materialy, Gospolitizdat, 1950, p. 47.)

Combined democratic governments were organized where conditions did not exist for the implementation of local national autonomy. This form of solution of the nationality question permitted the organs of

government power to assure equality of rights both to the most numerous nationality and to the national minorities residing in a given district but not living in compact settlements.

In accordance with the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the Central People's Government of China, there was set up in Sinkiang on 17 December 1949 a combined people's democratic government composed of representatives of all the nationalities of the province and numbering 31 persons. Among them were 9 Uighurs, 3 Kazakhs, 2 Chinese, 2 Tung-kangs, and single representatives of the other nationalities.*

(* Narodnyy Kitay, 1951, Nos. 11-12, p. 21.)

Departments, committees, and administrations were created as branch organs of the government administration. The People's Government exercised guidance of the following departments: internal affairs, public security, finance, trade, routes of communication, industrial and mining affairs, agriculture and forestry, livestock raising, irrigation, enlightenment, sanitary administration.

Also formed under the government were a Committee on the Affairs of Nationalities, a finance committee, a Committee on Culture and Enlightenment, a trading company, a bank, a people's court. The cadres for these organs were composed of representatives of the various nationalities inhabiting Sinkiang.

The activities of all government organs were determined in accordance with tasks of strengthening the people's democratic order, reconstructing and developing the national economy, and strengthening friendship between the peoples of both Sinkiang and China as a whole. These tasks were formulated in the political program adopted at the first meeting on 18 December 1949 of the newly-created people's government of Sinkiang.

Set up in Urumchi in the first half of December 1949 for the purpose of successfully coordinating the activities of all government and public organs in connection with the democratization of the social and political life of the peoples of Sinkiang was a City Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Organs of the people's militia and organs of public security were also created in the first months after the liberation.

On 2 October 1950 a branch of the people's prosecutor's office was set up in Urumchi. Its tasks included the suppression of counter-revolutionary elements, the protection of the interests of the people and the state, and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the people's democracy.

Soon after the creation of the provincial government organs, the process of creating local organs of people's power was begun. The reactionary "Pao-chia" administrative system was abolished. Government organs at the local level, as well as at the center, were set up with provision for the broad representation of all the local nationalities. Thus, of the 10 chairmen of the okrug governments

there were 4 Uighurs, 3 Kazakhs, 2 Chinese, and one Mongol. Of the 78 chairmen of county governments there were 45 Uighurs, 13 Kazakhs, 11 Chinese, 4 Mongols, 3 Kirghiz, and 2 Tatars.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 11 June 1951.)

Formed in Sinkiang were 78 county, 958 rayon, 1,275 volost, and 7,166 kishlak [village] governments.*

(* A. G. Yakovley, "The Economic Policy of the Central People's Government of the CPR in its Relations with the National Border Areas, Citing Sinkiang as an Example," Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya [Short Reports of the Institute for Eastern Studies], VII, 1952, p. 43.)

In the second half of 1950, on the basis of the "General Program," the NPKS [People's Political Consultative Council] carried out the reorganization of the previously created organs of people's power in three northern okrugs -- the Tarbagatayskiy, Altayskiy, and Iliyskiy. In place of the former governors, okrug administrative-control administrations were created. Each county administration was reorganized into a county people's government directly subordinate to the provincial people's government and under the control of the okrug administrative-control administration. In the rayons, people's organs of self-rule were set up; and in the villages, village administrations, in which the broad masses of the toiling masses participated.

The organization and activities of the local people's governments, their composition, powers, and the interrelations between them and the other government organs were defined by the instructions for the organization of local people's governments approved by the Central People's Government of China in 1950.*

(* Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, pp. 76-100.)

The local people's governments had broad powers.* Within the limits of these powers they promulgated decisions and orders, taking the necessary measures for their implementation; drew up their own budgets, and exercised control over carrying them out; appointed and transferred workers in the various departments of their administrative establishments and enterprises, coordinating and directing their work; put into effect the decisions, instructions, and orders of higher government organs, disallowing or modifying the acts of lower people's governments.

(* See Article 4 of "Instructions On the Organization of Provincial People's Governments," and also the corresponding articles of the instructions on the organization of other local people's governments, ibid., p. 77.)

The main organizational form of their activities was represented by the meetings called by the chairman of the local people's government at times determined by instructions.

Interrelationships among the lower and higher people's governments were based on the principle of democratic centralism.

The provincial combined people's democratic government and the other local people's governments, led by the Communist organizations, carried out the organization of the organs of people's power, relying on the military-control committees in whose hands were concentrated all powers in the initial period after the liberation of Sinkiang.

The system of military control in Sinkiang did not continue for long: in all, only a few months. The systematization of the revolutionary order and the carrying out of a series of democratic transformations made the system of military control unnecessary. Power in the province was gradually transferred to the local Conferences of People's Representatives of all segments of the population and of all nationalities, and also to the local people's governments elected by them.

The conference of People's Representatives of all segments of the population was a temporary transitional form of people's government existing in the period of the reconstruction of the national economy of the country. The system of organizing them and their activities were defined by the instructions on the organization of conferences of representatives of all segments of the population at the various levels, from village and to province.*

(* Ibid., pp. 101-124.)

On the basis of these instructions, conferences of representatives of all segments of the population were organized in Sinkiang in all the administrative-territorial units -- villages, volosts, counties, cities, and province. In districts of mixed populations conferences were set up of representatives of all the nationalities.

Different systems of choosing delegates existed. Some of them were chosen from the population or from lower-level conferences, others were chosen by various public organizations and democratic groups, still others were elected at workers' meetings in government establishments and enterprises, some by the People's Liberation Army, etc. Each local people's government had the right to send its members as delegates to the conference or to invite other persons to take part in its work.

This system of electing delegates to the conferences resulted in making them dependent on the broad popular masses and ensured their representative character. Comrade Chou En-lai, summarizing the results of the organization of the organs of the people's democratic power in China one year after its liberation, stated that "in principle all these organs of power are directly contrary to the Kuomintang reactionary organs of power which oppressed the people, because they represent the interests of all classes and social levels and are a weapon of the dictatorship of the people's democracy for the suppression solely of reactionary elements."*

(* Chou En-lai, For the Strengthening and Development of the Successes of the Chinese People, Peiping, Publishing House of Literature in Foreign Languages, 1951, p. 51.)

Delegates to the provincial conference were elected for 2 years, and delegates to conferences at all the other administrative levels for one year.

If the delegates did not justify the trust of the electors or the organizations and establishments which chose them, they could be recalled before the end of their terms of office.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has attached exceptional importance to the correct organization and timely institution of the system of conferences of representatives of all segments of the population. In his report at the Third Plenum of the CC CPC on 6 June 1950, he said: "It is necessary to set up the conferences of representatives of all strata of the people, in such manner as will help in uniting the various strata of the population for the performance of mutually beneficial work. All the important measures of the people's power should be discussed at the conferences of people's representatives along with the passing of the appropriate resolutions. It is necessary that the delegates to the conferences of people's representatives be assured of complete freedom of speech."*

(* Mao Tse-tung, The Struggle for the Fundamental Improvement of the Financial-Economic Situation of the Country, Peiping, 1952, pp. 12-13.)

In Sinkiang the conferences of representatives began to be called beginning in March 1950, and by the end of that year they had been held in a majority of districts of the province.* In 1950 one or two conferences were held in 60 counties; in 1951, one or two conferences in all counties.** By the end of 1952, conferences had been held several times everywhere: in 69 counties from 4 to 6 times; in 7 counties from 7 to 9 times; in 2 counties, 2 times; and once only in one county.***

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 17 January 1951.)

(** A. G. Yakovlev, op. cit., p. 43.)

(*** Wang En-mao, "The Growth and Strengthening of the Nationality Unity of the Peoples of Sinkiang," Political Journal of Sinkiang, December 1952, p. 4.)

In the initial period after the liberation, when all power was in the hands of the military-control committees, the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population did not yet possess full power as government organs. They functioned as advisory organs to the military-control committees and local people's governments, which aided them in the execution of various measures for the democratization of public and political life in the province.

The conferences of people's representatives of all strata of the population exercised the following functions:* hearing and discussing reports on the work of the people's governments; making appropriate observations on them and drawing up proposals; receiving petitions and proposals from the population addressed to the people's governments and other government and military organs on all questions connected with their powers; bringing to the attention of the

population the decisions made; aiding the people's governments in mobilizing the population for carrying out these decisions.
(* See, for example, Article 6 of Instructions on the Organization of City Conferences of Representatives of All Strata of the Population," Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, pp. 111-112.)

Very important political questions were often on the agendas of the conferences. For example, the first session of the conference of representatives of all strata of the population of the city of Kashgar discussed the question of the dictatorship of the people's democracy. In a resolution adopted by the session it is stated that it is necessary to abolish the old system of administration and to replace it with a democratic administrative system. In place of bribe-takers, spies, and traitors in government establishments and enterprises, genuine representatives of the people were to be appointed.* Similar questions were discussed at almost all the conferences of people's representatives. Everywhere people expressed themselves in favor of all the measures for the democratization of social and government life, and for the strengthening of the people's democratic order, which was being set up on the local level by the Communist Party and the people's governments.

(* Erikty Altay, 16 March 1950.)

The Conferences also devoted a great deal of attention to economic questions. Thus at the third session of the conference of representatives of all strata of the population of Lop Nor County, held in mid-1951, questions were discussed relating to the collection of the land tax for 1950, the plan for agricultural and cattle raising operations in 1951, and a number of other economic matters.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 6 April 1951.)

In the initial period of activity, the resolutions of the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population were solely in the form of recommendations. Later the conferences became full-powered organs of the government.

In Sinkiang, beginning in mid 1951, they began to exercise full authority as local organs of the government power -- Congresses of People's Representatives.*

(* It should be noted that some conferences of representatives of all strata of the population in effect performed the functions of Congresses of People's Representatives considerably earlier. Thus in early January 1950, the first session of the conference of representatives of all strata of the population of the city of Urumchi, in the work of which 145 persons took part, heard a report of the city people's government on its work for the 3 months following the liberation and discussed questions relating to a broad movement to put through a forced loan, the stabilization of prices, the abuses on the part of some comrades in the determination of prices for products and goods, the mobilization of effort for the development of production (Sinkiang Jih-pao, 12 January 1950.)).

(In early April 1950 the second session was held of the conference of people's representatives of the city of Urumchi. It discussed and adopted a technical plan for administrative work in the city. The main feature of this plan was the struggle against counterrevolutionary elements (ibid., 18 April 1950.))

The conferences elected the corresponding people's governments, exercised control of their activities, approved budgets, heard reports of the leaders of the local governmental organs on the fulfillment of their budgets, adopted resolutions on the improvement of the work of administrative organs, etc.*

(* See Article 7 of Instructions on Organization of City Conferences of Representatives of All Strata of the population, and also the relevant articles of other instructions, Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, p. 112.)

The decisions of the conferences in this period were already binding in characters.

By the end of 1952 the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population and of all nationalities in almost all districts of Sinkiang were fulfilling the functions of Congresses of People's Representatives.

In April and May 1951 the first session was held of the Sinkiang Provincial Conference, attended by 530 delegates, including 470 delegates who had been elected by various public organizations, government establishments, and military units. The other delegates were named by the provincial government.

The conference was called on the initiative of the military-control committee and the combined provincial democratic government.

In November 1950 the People's Government published an instruction on the calling of the first conference of representatives of all strata of the population of Sinkiang. Herein it defined the agenda of the session, the standards of the representatives from the various government and public organizations and strata of the population, and the order and time of the election of delegates.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 5 November 1950.)

Represented at the conference were workers, peasants, merchants, intelligentsia, students, members of the Communist Party and other democratic parties, and also Buddhists, Moslems, and other religious groups. The Conference united all strata of the population of Sinkiang in the new democratic construction and in the defense of the revolutionary triumphs.

Among the delegates to the conference were representatives of all the nationalities living in Sinkiang. Uighurs constituted 40.3%, Chinese 25.1%, Kazakhs 14.1%, Tung-kangs 4.7%, Kirghiz 3.1%, Tartars 2.7%, Russians 0.7%, and other nationalities 9.3%.*

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 10 May 1951.)

The Conference heard and discussed a report on the work of the provincial government for 1950 and on the tasks for 1951, and also reports by the leaders of the provincial government on various problems of economic and government organization. On all the questions examined, the Conference adopted corresponding resolutions in which it approved the activities of the provincial government and defined the tasks for 1951. The conference noted that these tasks were in complete accord with the "General Program" of the NPKS of China, that "the political line of the provincial government is in accord with the interests of the people and their wishes, and that therefore the representatives declare that they will fight for its implementation."*

(* Ibid., 13 May 1951.)

The delegates to the conference demonstrated unity and solidarity around the Communist Party and loyalty to the people's democratic order, then bringing liberation and freedom to all the nationalities and national minorities of China.

The telegram of greetings to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, adopted at this conference, reads: "We the peoples of Sinkiang associate our present successes with your name and will always remember that they were possible thanks to the great concern and aid of the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army..."*

(* Ibid., 15 May 1951.)

The same political spirit and toiling enthusiasm also marked the second session of the provincial conference of representatives of all strata of the population and of all nationalities which took place in August-September 1952. This session also heard and discussed reports by the leaders of the provincial government on the most important questions in the political and economic life of the province and adopted the necessary resolutions.*

(* Ibid., 11, 18, 19 September 1952.)

The conference of representatives elected permanent organs -- consultative councils -- for the period between sessions. Consulting on various questions of government administration with representatives of the various democratic parties, groups, and people's organizations, they also constituted local organs of the NPKS of China.*

(* Article 18 of Organizational Statute of the People's Political Consultative Council of China, Zaknodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literatures, 1952, pp. 39-40.)

Consultative councils are one of the forms with the aid of which the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population and the people's governments are linked to the toiling masses, drawing them into the government organization.

Consultative councils were formed by the corresponding conferences of representatives of all strata of the population and were composed of a chairman, his deputies, and several members. Their size was determined in accordance with the form of the administrative unit and the volume of work. Like the conferences, they were composed of representatives of all the national minorities living in Sinkiang. Thus of the 73 members of the provincial Consultative Council chosen at the first provincial

conference of representatives of all strata of the populations and of all the nationalities of Sinkiang, there were 24 Uighurs, 10 Kazakhs, 15 Chinese, 4 Mongols, 3 Kirghiz, 2 Tung-kangs, 3 Tatars, 2 Russians, 2 Uzbeks, and one representative from each of all the other nationalities.* (* Sinkiang Gazette, 10 May 1951; Sinkiang Jih-pao, 11 May 1951.)

The consultative councils, jointly with the local people's governments, formed various branch departments. The consultative council chosen at the first session of the conference of representatives of all strata of the population and of all the nationalities of the city of Kashgar, for example, was composed of 11 persons and had eight departments. The work of each department, as of the consultative council as a whole, dealt with the study of the needs and requests of various strata of the population, and with the execution through the appropriate organs of people's power of various measures for their satisfaction.

In accordance with the statute on the organization of provincial and city conferences of representatives, the local consultative councils performed the following functions:* assisting the local people's governments in carrying out the decisions of the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population and of all nationalities; making proposals on various sociocultural questions and subjecting them to the scrutiny of the people's governments; aiding the local people's government in mobilizing the population to participate in the people's democratic united front; establishing the revolutionary order; suppressing counterrevolutionaries; carrying out preliminary work as regards summoning regular conferences of representatives of all strata of the population and of all nationalities; performing work at the local level as regards increasing the unity of the people's democratic front.

(* Zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1952, pp. 104-113.)

The consultative councils possessed broad rights but were not organs of power or organs of the government administration. The decisions, statements, and proposals of the consultative organs had only the character of recommendations. The consultative organ did not constitute a subdepartmental organ of the people's government, just as it did not have directing and control functions in government relations. The government, in turn, did not have the right to give any instructions to the consultative councils.

Relations between the consultative councils and the local people's government were not based on the principle of dependence and subordination but on the principle of cooperation and mutual aid in putting into effect the decisions of the conferences.

The basic organizational form of the work of the consultative council was the meeting. The provincial consultative council held meetings not oftener than once every 3 months, while the city consultative councils and the county permanent committees* met not oftener than once a month. With respect to the most important questions of a public and government character, the consultative councils held

joint meetings with the local people's governments. The decisions of these meetings played an important role in the mobilization of the masses for the fulfillment of the decisions of the conferences of people's representatives.

(* In the counties the consultative organs were called permanent committees. See Art. 10 of the Statute on the Organization of County Conferences of Representatives of All Strata of the Population," ibid., p. 108.)

Held in a number of places were conferences of representatives of individual nationalities. These, however, unlike the conferences of representatives of all strata of the population, had none of the functions of a government power either in the initial or the subsequent period. They were temporary organs, summoned to grant aid to the corresponding people's government in the matter of drawing the masses of a certain nationality into the work of building a new life. Their main functions were to explain the essence of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China to the individual nationalities, and to rally them around the Chinese people-- the vanguard in the building of socialism and in the establishment of friendship between them, etc.

The holding in the various national districts of such conferences noticeably increased the political consciousness, national solidarity, and organization of erstwhile antagonistic peoples, laying the foundation for their cooperation and mutual aid. Thus at the conference of representatives of the Kazakhs of the Urumchinskiy and Komul'skiy okrugs, held in 1950, the delegates expressed a very determined desire to strengthen their friendship with other peoples, and to conduct a struggle against all the enemies of the people's democratic order. A resolution of the conference stated: "We Kazakhs, defending the triumphs of the People's Liberation Army and aiding it in destroying the enemies of the people, request the provincial government to punish severely the bandit leaders Ospan, Zhanymkhan, and Yulbars. We representatives call upon all Kazakhs to reveal the hiding places of bandits and other traitors, to guard the democratic power, to build peace and the revolutionary order..."*

(* Zhana-zhol, 29 May 1950.)

At all levels the conferences played an important role in the political life of Sinkiang. They were the direct organizers of the broad masses of the toilers for the fulfillment of the tasks of building a new Sinkiang. "Rallying the masses around the people's governments," stated Comrade Chou En-lai, "the conferences of people's representatives through their activities are uniting the people and transforming them into a mighty force capable of fulfilling the tasks of national construction and national defense,"*

(* Chou En-lai, "Report at the Third Session of the People's Political Consultative Council of China, 23 October 1951, Narodnyy Kitay (supplement) 1951, Nos. 9-10, Vol. IV, p. 9.)

The organs of the people's power in Sinkiang, relying on the support of the broad masses of the various nationalities, were able in the first years after the liberation to accomplish a colossal amount of work in strengthening the people's democratic order and democratizing the public and government affairs of the erstwhile oppressed and rightless peoples of the province. Comrade Chou En-lai, describing the activities of the organs of people's power in the first year of the existence of People's China, stated that they "have achieved positive results in the matter of rallying the various strata of the population, parties, and nationalities; have aided the people's power to heed the opinion of the people; and have also helped the people to understand and control the work of the people's power."*

(* Chou En-lai, For The Strengthening and Development of the Successes of the Chinese People, Publishing House of Literature in Foreign Languages, Peking, 1951, p. 14.)

Exactly a year after the liberation, in the fall of 1950, the whole territory of Sinkiang had been practically cleared of remnants of the Kuomintang riff-raff. The armed bands of Ospan, Zhanymkhan, Yulbars, Urazbay, and many other enemies of the people's order had been rendered harmless. The successful suppression of the counterrevolution aided the further unification of the national minorities of Sinkiang around the people's power led by the Communist Party of China.

In the course of the years 1951 and 1952 such questions were found on the agenda of the work of conferences of people's representatives as the reduction of land rents, interest rates, the refunding of land taxes, the building and repair of various irrigation works, wells, etc. The decisions adopted by the conferences on these problems were warmly supported by the broad masses of the people, who waged an active struggle to carry them out. A real campaign developed, in the course of which a united democratic front of the various nationalities was created. It conducted a struggle against the landlords, confiscating their property and transferring to the peasants the lands, cattle, and houses which had been taken from them by their exploiters. As a result of the execution of these measures, the living conditions of the broad peasant masses were improved and their class consciousness and productive activity were considerably increased. Everywhere peasant unions and other public organizations began to be created, and a rapid growth was manifest in the ranks of the new democratic alliance of youth, the alliance of women, the "Association for the Defense of Peace and Democracy in Sinkiang," and other organizations.

During 1952 and 1953 an agrarian reform was successfully carried out in the main agricultural districts of Sinkiang. It liquidated landlord ownership of the land, raised the level of the material prosperity of the toiling peasants, and paved the way for the execution of socialist measures in rural areas.*

(* On this see Chapter IV.)

These successes were achieved specifically as a result of the fact that the Communist Party and the Central People's Government of China had correctly utilized the system of conferences of people's representatives as a means for drawing the broad masses of the toilers into the process of developing the people's democratic state.

The activities of the military-control organs and the conferences of people's representatives created the conditions for the summoning of Congresses of People's Representatives and for holding the first general elections in the country.

In 1953 the toilers of China, having completed the reconstruction of the national economy, began the fulfillment of their First Five-Year Plan, which provided for building the foundations of socialism in China. By that time, the toilers had suppressed the Kuomintang counterrevolution, had mostly liquidated banditry, and had successfully carried out the land reform. The political consciousness and organization of the masses had been uplifted considerably. There was now necessity for further democratization of the political life of the country.

The tasks of building the foundations of socialism required still more active participation by the masses in administering the people's democratic state and in strengthening and broadening the ties between the state apparatus and the masses.

The temporary system of organs of people's power -- the conferences of people's representatives, which was suited to the tasks of the reconstruction period, did not suit the new stage of the building of the CPR.

The forms of a people's democratic state do not remain fixed. They develop in accordance with changes in the relationships of the class forces within the country, with changes in the domestic and foreign situation. Therefore the requirement of further strengthening the people's democratic order and the tasks of building socialism called forth the need to replace the old system of state administration -- the conferences of people's representatives -- with a new one -- congresses of people's representatives, chosen on the basis of general elections.

On 24 December 1952 the National Committee of the NPKS, on the basis of the proposal of the Communist section, proposed the calling of congresses of people's representatives throughout the country. On 13 January 1953 the Central People's Government adopted the decision on the calling of congresses of people's representatives, and on 11 February the Law of Elections to the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives and local Congresses of People's Representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.*

(* Konstitutsi i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 82-96.)

On the basis of this law, in 1953-1954 in Sinkiang, as also in other districts of the country, the first general elections to the local Congresses of People's Representatives were held. The Congresses of People's Representatives chosen in the general elections afforded the

popular masses the opportunity to participate still more actively in the building of socialism and in the administration of the state.

2. Organs of Self-Rule in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast Within the System of Government Organs of the CPR

The system of government organs of the CPR is defined by the special features of its social and state structure. Manifested in it is the socialist nature of the people's democratic state. It is adapted to the fulfillment of the tasks and functions of this state in the various stages of its development. "The organization and activities of local organs of the state power and the state administration of the Chinese People's Republic," as L. M. Gudoshnikov correctly points out, "are built on the principles of participation of the masses in the state administration and in the work of the state organs; democratic centralism; collective leadership; equality of rights among the nationalities; people's democratic legality, planning, and economic structuralization."*

(* L. M. Gudoshnikov, "The Development of the System of Local Organs of State Power in the State Administration of the Chinese People's Republic," Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo /Soviet State and Law/, 1957, No. 10, p. 17.)

The system of organs of a people's democratic state conforms above all with the principle of the unlimited sovereignty of the people. In Article 2 of the Constitution of the CPR it is stated: "All power in the Chinese People's Republic belongs to the people in the person of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives and the local Congresses of Peoples Representatives..." This article defines the essence of the entire government system of the CPR.

The sovereignty of the people is realized by the Congresses of People's Representatives.

This presupposes, first of all, that the Congresses of People's Representatives represent the Chinese people in the most direct manner, embody their will, express their interests, and ensure the participation of the broad masses in the administration of the state.

A democratic dictatorship of the people called upon to fulfill the tasks of the dictatorship of the working class would be unthinkable without the decisive participation of the toiling masses in the exercise of the state power.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China are utilizing various forms for drawing the toiling masses into the administration of the state. The most important of these are general elections to the Congresses of People's Representatives; the participation of the toilers as deputies in the work of the latter, and in the work of the organs of the state administration; and also the participation of the masses in the trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives, and other social organizations which assist the organs of the state in their activities.

The sovereignty of the people presupposes, secondly, that the congresses of people's Representatives, as bearers of their will, should have full power, and that there should not exist in the state organs formed or acting independently of the Congresses of People's Representatives. They possess broad and diverse powers in the various social and government spheres. All the other organs of the state -- organs of the state administration, courts, prosecutor's offices -- receive their powers from the Congresses of People's Representatives and are accountable and responsible to them.

The sovereignty of the people presupposes, thirdly, that in exercising their powers the deputies of the Congresses of People's Representatives are responsible to the people and are controlled by them.

The system of state organs of the Chinese People's Republic is being improved along with the development of the people's democratic state, along with changes in its tasks and major functions.*

(* Ibid., pp. 13-25.)

At first the Congresses of People's Representatives were elected and convoked in the lower administrative units; later they were elected and convoked by higher Congresses of People's Representatives all the way up to the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives.

The Constitution of the CPR, which established this system, defined the order of formation of both the local and central government organs, their structure, competence, and system of activities.

The highest organ of the state power in the CPR is the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives.

Local organs of power are the Congresses of People's Representatives of the corresponding administrative units.

All the remaining government organs, from the State Council down to the local people's committees, "are also created by such organs of the state power as the All Chinese Congress of People's Representatives and the local Congresses of People's Representatives. They are under their control, and their members can be recalled by these organs."*

(* Liu Shao-chi, "On the Draft Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic," Materialy pervoy sessii Vsekitayskogo Sobraniya narodnykh predstaviteley, Publishing House of Pravda, 1954, p. 41.)

On the basis of the national composition of the CPR and its international nature, organs of self-rule were created in the districts of local national autonomy and included in the united system of state organs of the Republic. Their activities are carried out in harmony with those of the other state organs. The order of their organization and activities corresponds to the basic principles of the organization of the local government organs as laid down in Section 4 of Chapter II of the Constitution of the CPR.

The unity of the system of government organs in the CPR is based, first, on the unity of the will of the working class executing the dictatorship in alliance with the peasantry; second, on the community

of interests of all the Chinese people; third, on the unity of interests of the nations and national minorities of China emancipated by the people's revolution; fourth, on the conformity of the general state goals with the needs and interests of the localities; and, finally, on the fact that the Communist Party of China organizes and directs the entire system of government organs of the CPR, both central and local.

This unity is expressed in the fact that the activities of all the government organs at a given state are directed towards the accomplishing of a single task -- the building of socialism.

The unity of the system of government organs of the CPR is manifested also in that fact that, as stated in Article 22 of the Constitution of the CPR, the All Chinese Congress of People's Representatives is the sole organ exercising legislative power in the country. It not only exercises legislative power. It possesses plenary authority in the country, the right to control the activities of all the higher government organs of the CPR that it forms and names: the office of President of the CPR, the Permanent Committee of the VSNP, the State Council, the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office.

The organizational principle ensuring the unity of the entire system of government organs of the CPR is democratic centralism, which defines the order of their organization and activities. It also determines the relations between the representative organs and the other organs of the state, as well as those between the higher and lower government organs.

The unity of the system of government organs of the CPR does not exclude, however, limitations on their respective powers. The Constitution and other legislative acts of the CPR establish a strict and clear demarcation of the powers of the various organs of the united state power.

Each government organ possesses powers corresponding to the nature of the organ and to its place in the general system of government organs.

The forms of the organs of self-rule are determined on the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution of the CPR, and in conformity with the expressed will of the majority of the people of that nationality which is exercising local national autonomy.

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, in conformity with the expressed will of the majority of the people, the organs of self-rule in all districts of local national autonomy are the Congresses of People's Representatives, people's committees, and the other governmental administrative organs formed by them.

Each district of local national autonomy exercises government authority and administration within the limits established by the Constitution and other laws of the CPR.

The Congresses of People's Representatives are organs of government authority, and the people's committees and other governmental

administrative organs formed by them are organs of government administration.

The organs of self-rule of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, as part of the general system of government organs of the CPR, also have their own system, which is defined by the peculiarities of the administrative-territorial structure of the oblast. Corresponding to each link in its administrative-territorial structure are particular organs of self-rule. The organs of government authority in the autonomous okrugs and autonomous counties, as well as in the counties, cities, municipal rayons, volosts, national volosts, and settlements, are Congresses' of Peoples Representatives which set up their permanent organs -- people's committees. The latter in turn form the various governmental administrative organs.

Thus the Congresses of People's Representatives, the people's committees, and the governmental administrative organs formed by them within the above-mentioned links of the administrative-territorial system constitute in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast the system of organs of self-rule which exercise the functions of local governmental organs.

3. Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast as Local Organs of Government Authority

In the system of organs of self-rule in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast decisive importance is attached to the Congresses of People's Representatives. Through them the toiling masses exercise government authority, directing all economic and sociocultural activities in the settlements, volosts, national volosts, municipal rayons, counties, autonomous counties, autonomous okrugs, and the oblast.

The entire system of Congresses of People's Representatives in the Chinese People's Republic is permeated with genuine people's democracy from both the point of view of its organization and its daily activities.

One of the most important principles of the organization of the Congresses of People's Representatives is their election on the basis of the democratic principles of the electoral system. The principles of the election law and the method of conducting elections in the county are defined by the special electoral laws of the All Chinese Congress of People's Representatives and the local Congresses of People's Representatives of the CPR, adopted at the 22nd meeting of the Central People's Government Council on 11 February 1953 and promulgated on 1 March 1953.*

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 82-86.)

The most important principles of the election law are embodied in the Constitution of the CPR (Articles 19, 23, 56, 86). They provide that the elections of deputies to the Congresses of People's Representatives in the CPR should be general elections.

The principle of general elections in the Chinese People's Republic is expressed in the fact that all citizens over 18 years of age, regardless of nationality or race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious faith, education, property status, or residence, have the right to elect and be elected. Only those cannot elect or be elected who are insane or have been deprived by law of the right to elect and be elected. To this latter category belong landlords who have still not changed their class status as provided by law, counterrevolutionary elements who have been legally deprived of political rights; and persons who have been deprived of political rights by the courts.

Women have the same rights as men. Citizens serving in the armed forces of the CPR possess the right to elect and be elected on the same basis as all citizens.

The election law of the CPR established an equal electoral right: each citizen has a vote. However, for the purpose of ensuring a leading role for the working class, the election law established different norms of representation for cities and rural administrative-territorial units. From the urban population several times more deputies are chosen than from the rural population. The ratio in favor of the working class is about 4:1 in the elections to the local Congresses of People's Representatives, and 8:1 in the elections of deputies to the highest organ of government authority -- the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives.

The norms of representation in all links of the organs of government authority are defined in accordance with the density of the population of the administrative-territorial unit in question.*

(* Articles 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20 of the Law on Elections, ibid., pp. 83-86.)

In the national districts of the county the election law ensures representation for the various nationalities in the organs of government authority. The norms of representation established here are lower than in the other districts of the country (Article 27 of the law).

The representation of various nationalities in the organs of power were legislatively strengthened also in Article 51 (of the General Program of the NPKS), a policy which was later further developed and embodied in the Constitution of the CPR and in the Law on the Organization of Local Congresses of People's Representatives and Local People's Committees of the Chinese People's Republic (Article 4).* The principle followed in the electoral system is a combination of direct and multi-stage elections. Chosen directly on the basis of Article 56 of the Constitution of the CPR and Article 3 of the Election Law are the lower organs of government authority -- the Congresses of People's Representatives of settlements, volosts, national volosts, municipal rayons, and cities not having rayon divisions. Deputies to the Congresses of People's Representatives of provinces, autonomous districts, cities having rayon divisions, and counties, as well as to the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, are elected by the lower Congresses of People's Representatives.

(* Ibid., p. 69.)

A special feature of the election system in the CPR is the combination in the elections of open and secret voting. Secret voting is employed in the elections of deputies to the county and higher Congresses of People's Representatives, whereas open voting is used in the elections of deputies to the lower organs of power by a show of hands (Article 55 of the Election Law).

Reflecting the historical conditions of the development of China and the relationship of the class forces at the present stage of its development, these are the basic principles of the election system of the CPR.*

(* For a more detailed analysis of the main principles of the election system see N. G. Sudarikov, "The Electoral System of the Chinese People's Republic," *Sevetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo*, 1953, No. 5, pp. 114-128.)

Held on the basis of these principles were the first general elections of Congresses of People's Representatives in Sinkiang as well as in other districts of the country.

The work of holding the first general elections in Sinkiang was begun immediately after the publication on 2 March 1953 in the Chinese central press of the Law of Elections. Immediately afterwards, this law was published by the Sinkiang press in the languages of the local nationalities: Uighur, Kazakh, Mongol, and other languages. A broad election campaign then began in which hundreds of thousands of toilers participated. The direct supervision of preparing and holding elections was placed in the hands of the electoral commissions, set up on both the central and local levels. Under the provincial people's government an electoral commission was created which exercised control of elections to the Congress of People's Representatives of Sinkiang.

Similar commissions were set up also under local people's governments in the lower administrative-territorial units. They possessed broad powers. They had the right to establish elections units, to determine the time and order of the holding of elections, to register the voters, to examine complaints, to hold election meetings, to control the correct execution of the Law of Elections, and others (Articles 38, 39 of the Law on Elections).

The candidates for deputies to the local Congresses of People's Representatives were nominated by the electoral districts and electoral units. The right to nominate candidates and deputies was granted to the Communist Party organizations, the various democratic parties, the people's organizations, as well as to voters and representatives not belonging to these parties and organizations. The nomination of candidates as a rule was done by the parties, organizations, and voters jointly, which testified to the solidarity of the Chinese people around the Communist Party.

A list of candidates was preliminarily drawn up by the local electoral commission from among persons recommended by local party and social organizations, and also by individual voters and groups of voters. Later it was given to groups of voters for discussion, which ensured putting forward candidates enjoying the respect and support of the broad masses of the population. After this, the list of candidates was sent to the

local electoral commission, which published it. The election meeting or special meeting of groups composed of deputies elected by the lower links of the administrative-territorial system decided on the basis of the list the question of the election of a certain candidate as deputy to the corresponding Congress of People's Representatives. The discussion of candidatures took place under the guidance of the presidium of the corresponding Congress of People's Representatives, which on the basis of the results of the discussion of candidatures in the deputy groups compiled the final list of candidates for deputies and personally passed on each of them.

At district election meetings, the citizens by a direct show of hands elected deputies to the volost and settlement Congresses of People's Representatives, and also to the Congresses of municipal rayons and of cities not having rayon divisions.

The elections of deputies to the county Congresses of People's Representatives, the Congresses of large cities, and the provincial Congress of People's Representatives were held by secret vote.

Held in the course of 4 months, from June to September 1953, in 36 lower administrative units of the province (volost, rayon) were test elections of deputies to volost and rayon Congresses of People's Representatives. Having acquired the necessary experience in the organization and conduct of elections, in September-October 1954 the party and state organs held the first general elections of deputies to 665 local Congresses of People's Representatives. In December 1953 and early 1954, the second stage of general elections took place at 860 local Congresses of People's Representatives.*

(* Chiun-chun Jih-pao, 7 January 1954.)

By May 1954 elections had been conducted almost everywhere, and 91.56% of the voters had participated.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 5 October 1954. In 1953 and 1954 the first general elections in Sinkiang were held in one autonomous okrug; 69 autonomous counties, administrative counties, and cities; and 2,175 populated places, where local Congresses of People's Representatives were set up (Ili Gazette, 6 September 1956). In the remaining 4 autonomous okrugs, 14 counties, and 247 populated places, elections were not held. This is explained by the fact that here the necessary conditions had not been created and socialist transformations had hardly been carried out, because these districts are cattle-raising and semi-cattle-raising districts. In place of Congresses of People's Representatives, Conferences of People's Representatives were set up here.)

During the 5 months from March to July 1954, sessions of Congresses of People's Representatives were held in the counties and cities of the province, and by the end of July 1954 the first session of the provincial Congress of People's Representatives -- the highest organ of government authority in Sinkiang -- had been held.

The provincial Congress of People's Representatives numbered 375 deputies. Included were Uighurs (231 persons), Kazakhs (48 persons),

Chinese (45 persons), Tung-kangs (14 persons), Mongols (9 persons), Uzbeks (4 persons), Russians (2 persons), and representatives of other nationalities.* The session heard and discussed reports of the leaders of the provincial government on various economic, cultural, and state questions and adopted the necessary resolutions. The session elected 21 persons as deputies to the highest organ of the state power of the CPR -- the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives. The deputies represented the national minorities of Sinkiang, including 12 Uighurs, 3 Chinese, 2 Kazakhs, and one representative each of Tung-kang, Mongols, Kirghiz, and Tatars.**

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 23 July 1954.)

(** Sinkiang Gazette, 1 August 1954.)

The term of the Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast is 4 years; that of all the lower Congresses of People's Representatives is 2 years.*

(* Article 8 of "Instructions on the Organizations of Congresses of People's Representatives and People's Committees at All Levels of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast," Jen-min Jih-pao, 10 July 1956.)

In September 1956 the People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, in connection with the expiration of the term of the lower links of the local organs of authority adopted a special resolution on the holding of new elections at all levels of Congresses of People's Representatives at the various levels. In conformity with the resolution, in Sinkiang, from mid-September to late December 1956, the second general elections to the lower Congresses of People's Representatives were held. In the course of 2 months, from mid-September to the first half of November, elections were held in the villages, settlements, and city rayons. By late December, they had been held in the autonomous okrugs, cities, and administrative counties.

(* Ili Gazette, 6 September 1956.)

Elections of deputies were carried out according to the following norms.*

(* Ibid.)

To the Congresses of People's Representatives of villages and national volosts from 15 to 70 deputies were elected. In places with populations of less than 1,000, one deputy was elected for each 30-50 voters; in those having 1,000-3,000 persons, one deputy for each 50-100 voters; in those having 3,000-7,000, one deputy for each 100-150 voters; in those having more than 7,000 persons, one deputy for each 150-300 voters.

From 20 to 200 deputies were elected to the Congresses of People's Representatives of city rayons and settlements. In populated places where the population amounted to less than 10,000, one deputy was elected for each 100-200 voters; in places with populations of 10,000-30,000, one deputy for each 200-400 voters; in places with populations of more than 30,000, one deputy for each 400-1,000 voters.

From 30 to 300 deputies were elected to the Congresses of People's Representatives of autonomous counties, administrative counties, and cities. In populated places where the population amounted to less than 3,000, from 1 to 3 deputies were elected; in villages and volosts with populations of 3,000-7,000, 2-5 deputies; those with populations of more than 7,000 persons, 4-9 deputies. For each 500-1,500 persons in settlements and city districts one deputy was chosen to the local Congresses of People's Representatives of cities, administrative counties, and autonomous counties. The total number of deputies elected from settlements whose populations were particularly large to the Congresses of People's Representatives of autonomous counties did not exceed 30 persons.

To the Congresses of People's Representatives of cities, from 30 to 50 deputies were elected from city rayons having large populations. The norms of representation to the Congresses of People's Representatives of autonomous okrugs and cities, as well as autonomous and administrative counties, were determined by the people's committees of the autonomous okrugs themselves and in consultation with the People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

In setting the norms of representation, special attention was given to ensuring the representation of national minorities in the local Congresses of People's Representatives.

As in the first general elections, this election campaign took place under the banner of the solidarity of the toiling masses around the Communist Party, which was successfully carrying out the tasks of the building of socialism in the country. The elections were conducted on the basis of the democratic principles of the election system of the CPR, which ensures the broad participation of the toiling masses in the administration of the state.

Unlike the first elections, the new general elections embraced all the populated places of Sinkiang, because by that time enormous successes had been achieved everywhere in the transformation of agriculture, in handicraft industry, and also in the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

In the second half of 1956, after the successful carrying out of elections in the autonomous okrugs, in the autonomous counties, in counties, in cities, in municipal rayons, in volosts, in national volosts and in settlements of an urban type, the first session was held of the Congress of People's Representatives, Convocation II.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 April 1957.)

In 1958, new elections were conducted because of the expiration of the term of office of deputies of the oblast Congress of People's Representatives (Convocation I), and of those of the Congresses of People's Representatives of the autonomous okrugs, counties, and lower units (Convocation II).*

(* On the results of elections in the lower organs of government authority, see Sinkiang Gazette, 20 May 1958.)

These elections, carried out on the basis of the representation norms of the previous elections, took place in the setting of the great victory which had been achieved in the course of the movement for bringing order into the work organization and of the struggle against rightist elements. The elections strengthened still further the system of Congresses of People's Representatives as organs of Government authority in the oblast, brought them closer to the broad popular masses, and increased their role in drawing the workers into the administration of the state and the building of socialism.

Inherent in the principle of the election of local organs of government authority is direct accountability and responsibility to the electors. Each deputy of a Congress of People's Representatives is answerable to his electors.

The Constitution of the CPR and the instructions which conform to it regarding autonomy, as well as a number of other laws on the organization of organs of government authority, establish the responsibility of the people's representatives to their electors or electoral units and embody the right of voters and electoral districts to recall deputies.*

(* Articles 38 and 61 of the Constitution of the CPR, Article 61 of the Law on Elections, Article 37 of the Law on the Organization of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, and Article 21 of the Law on the Organization of Local Congresses of People's Representatives and Local People's Committees.)

Thus Article 26 of "Instruction on the Organization of Congresses of People's Representatives and People's Committees at all Levels of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast" establishes that the deputies of Congresses of People's Representatives of autonomous districts, cities with rayon divisions, and counties are answerable to the organs which elected them; that the deputies of Congresses of People's Representatives of cities without rayon divisions, municipal rayons, volosts, national volosts, and settlements are answerable to the voters.

The electors have the right to recall and replace at any time the deputies chosen by them. Recall of a deputy must be agreed upon by a majority of the deputies in the electoral units, or by a majority of the electors.

The subordination and responsibility of the local Congresses of People's Representatives to the people who elected them ensures the closest ties between the local organs of government authority and the broad masses of the people, creates conditions for the full expression of the will and interests of the toilers in the decisions of the Congresses and for many sided assistance on the part of the voters in their work. Herein is found a source of strength and a guarantee of the fruitful activity of the local Congresses of People's Representatives.

All the Congresses of People's Representatives perform their activities at their sessions. The order and time of calling the sessions of local Congresses of People's Representatives are determined by the Law on the Organization of Local Congresses of People's Representatives

and Local People's Committees;* and in the districts of local national autonomy by the instructions on autonomy.

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 72-73.)

Thus Article 14 of the autonomy statute in Sinkiang establish that sessions of the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast are to be called once a year. Sessions of the Congresses of cities, counties, and municipal rayons are called twice a year. Sessions of the Congresses of People's Representatives in volosts, national volosts, and settlements are held once every 3 or 4 months.

Special sessions of the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast are called at the discretion of the People's Committee of the oblast or on the petition of one fifth of the deputies.

Brought forward for discussion at the sessions are the most important state, economic, and cultural questions. Among these, in particular, are elections of the people's committee and president of the people's court, fixing the local budget and the national economic plan, reports of local people's committees.

Thus at the Fourth Session of the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, held in April 1957, the report of the People's Committee for 1956 was discussed.* The report was presented by the chairman of the People's Committee, Comrade Sayfutdin Azizov.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 April 1957.)

The list given above far from exhausts all the questions discussed at meetings of the Congresses of People's Representatives. They are authorized to examine during the meeting any issue, not only of local but also of general state significance relating to economic, cultural, or political matters; and to hear reports on individual questions of the work of the people's committees, their departments, administrations, sections, and commissions, as well as reports on the work of the people's courts and also reports on the activities of the lower Congresses of People's Representatives and of various mass organizations.

The local Congresses of People's Representatives elect a presidium during their sessions. For the performance of organizational-technical work during the sessions of the county and higher congresses, a secretariat is elected composed of a secretary and several deputies. The secretary is elected from the membership of the presidium and is approved by the deputies, while the vice-secretaries are elected from among the Congress deputies and approved by the presidium of the Congress.

The Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast at all levels can during their sessions set up mandate commissions, commissions for the examination of outside proposals, and other necessary commissions which perform their work under the guidance of the presidium.

At the sessions the deputies enjoy full freedom of speech, and are afforded broad opportunities for full participation. They are granted the right to bring forward for the examination of the session any questions connected with the competence of the given Congress of People's Representatives.

The meetings of the Congresses of People's Representatives are open ones. Eligible to attend with the right of consultative vote are the leaders of the work apparatus of the people's committees of the corresponding level, the chairman of the people's court, and the chief procurator of the people's prosecutor's office, as well as other persons, subject to the approval of the Presidium.

The work of the sessions is carried on in the Chinese and Uighur languages. Translations are provided for deputies of other nationalities. In the national volosts, the sessions of Congresses of People's Representatives are carried out in the language of the given locality.

The adoption of decisions on all questions on the agenda in the Congresses of People's Representatives is by a simple majority of the votes of all deputies. In forming county and higher people's committees, and in the elections of the chairmen of people's courts at the sessions of the corresponding congresses, a secret vote is taken. On the other hand, in the formation of the people's committees of volosts, national volosts, and settlements, there is open voting.

As representatives of the people, the deputies of the local congresses are granted broad rights.

A deputy can apply to the appropriate people's committee or to the organs subordinate to it with any request, which the latter must answer during the period of the session. A deputy possesses a special immunity: during a session he cannot be arrested or held to judicial responsibility without the approval of the presidium of the Congress. A deputy has the right to nominate candidates to the organs set up by the Congress in question, the right to be elected to these organs, the right to a full vote in the adoption of decisions and in the elections of the various organs.

The deputies of county and higher congresses have the right to participate with a consultative vote at the sessions of the Congresses of People's Representatives chosen by them. The deputies of the lower congresses have the right to organize deputies' groups in districts or in enterprises where they are three or more deputies. The creation of such groups aids in strengthening the ties between the deputies and the electors, and intensifies their role in the activities of the local people's committees.

During the period of the sessions of the local Congresses of People's Representatives, where necessary the State makes money or other material grants to the deputies.

Deputies to local Congresses of People's Representatives use their rights in carrying out the important obligations given them. As stated in Article 25 of the autonomy statute of Sinkiang, the deputies to the

Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast must maintain close ties with the organs or voters who have elected them; explain the laws, decrees, and policies of the state; and assist in the work of the corresponding people's committees. In the Congresses of People's Representatives and people's committees the deputies must express the opinions and needs of the broad masses of the people.

Deputies to the local Congresses of People's Representatives are the best representatives of the popular masses and constitute an enormous organizing force indissolubly linking the organs of self-rule and the toiling masses of the various nationalities.

In fulfilling their obligations, the deputies strengthen daily the ties with the masses, giving attention to their requests and needs, accepting criticism from below, revealing and eliminating defects in the work of the state organs*.

(* On the forms and methods of work of deputies to the local Congresses of People's Representatives in the CPR, see L. M. Gudoshnikov, "The Development of the System of Local Organs of Government Authority and State Administration in the Chinese People's Republic," Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo, 1957, No. 10, pp. 20-21.)

The local Congresses of People's Representatives are sovereign organs of government authority. Within the limits of their competence, as laid down by the Constitution of the CPR and other laws, they exercise full authority in their territories. Not only local but also general-state tasks are accomplished through them.

The Constitution of the CPR defines the major circle of questions within the competence of the local Congresses of People's Representatives* which were later formulated in the Law on the Organization of Local Congresses of People's Representatives and Local People's Committees (Articles 6 and 7 of the Law).

(* Section 4, Chapter II, of the Constitution of the CPR.)

In the districts of national autonomy, on the basis of these acts and under consideration of local conditions, instructions are worked out and approved on their autonomy. Herein is defined in detail the competence of the organs of self-rule. The powers of the Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast are defined in Articles 9, 10, 11, 12 of the autonomy statute in Sinkiang.

The Congresses of People's Representatives at all levels of the Sinkiang-Uighur autonomous Oblast provide for strict observance of and compliance with the laws and decrees, as well as decisions, of the higher Congresses of People's Representatives. Putting into effect the laws and other legislative acts of the people's democratic state, the local Congresses of People's Representatives thus participate in the solution not only of local but also of general government tasks.

During 1954 almost all the local Congresses of People's Representatives of Sinkiang discussed at their first sessions the draft Constitution of the CPR, which everywhere received unanimous approval.

The discussion of the draft Constitution of the CPR at the sessions of the Congresses of People's Representative was of great general political significance. It clearly demonstrated the striving of all the nationalities of the country to strengthen the people's democratic order and to develop and reinforce friendship between the peoples of China. At the first sessions of the Congresses of People's Representatives of Sinkiang, held in July 1954, the delegates from the various nationalities of the province noted in their speeches the greatness and enormous significance of the draft Constitution of the CPR concerning the further strengthening of the democratic state, and the economic, cultural, and political development of all the nationalities of the country. The delegate from the Kazakh Autonomous District declared in his speech: "The publication of the draft Constitution is a great and joyful event for the peoples of all China, including us Kazakhs. We support in a very determined manner the draft Constitution."*

(* Jeh-min Jih-pao, 13 April 1954.)

Also included on the agendas of the meetings of the Congresses of People's Representatives are other questions of a general state character. For example, in late 1954 and early 1955, at the meetings of the Congresses of People's Representatives of Sinkiang the reports of deputies were heard on the results of the work of the first session of the VSNP, and resolutions were adopted regarding the fulfillment of its instructions.*

(* Ibid., 3 and 19 January and 11 February 1955.)

Of great importance was the discussion at the meetings of the Congresses of People's Representatives of the Election Law, the "Basic Principles for the Implementation of Local National Autonomy in the Chinese People's Republic," the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the CPR, and the problem of the movement for improving work organization, etc.

A great deal of work is being done by the organs of the state power in planning the development of the national economy. On the basis of the general state plan, they are planning economic and cultural construction and working out measures of social importance in the fields of enlightenment, public health, social security, and aid to the victims of natural calamities. Thus the second session of the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, held in September 1955, approved the draft of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the economy of the oblast.*

(* Ibid., 2 October 1955; Druzhba, 6 October 1955.)

Volost and settlement Congresses of People's Representatives, in addition, approve production plans for agriculture, livestock raising, and the handicraft industry, and establish concrete plans for measures of mutual aid and cooperation in regard to other economic tasks.

A great deal of attention is being paid in the work of Congresses of People's Representatives to questions of the development of agriculture and industrial production, the carrying out of socialist transformations in these branches of the national economy, and to other questions. The autonomy statute grants to county, city, and oblast

Congresses of People's Representatives the right to examine and approve budgets and reports on their execution; while volost Congresses and other Congresses at the same level are assured the right to verify revenues and expenditures (Article 9, paragraph 6; Article 10, paragraph 5; Article 11, paragraph 8 of the autonomy statute in Sinkiang).

In the case of all the questions discussed, the Congresses of People's Representatives, within the limits of the rights granted by the Constitution of the CPR and by other legislative acts, adopt and publish resolutions. These are published on the basis of and in conformity with the laws and other legislative acts of the higher state organs.

Local Congresses of People's Representatives are also constituent organs. They set up, as already pointed out, their own permanent organs (people's committees); they elect, in conformity with the administrative level, chairmen of people's courts and also deputies to the higher Congresses of People's Representatives.* The Congresses of People's Representatives possess the right to control the activities of the state organs formed by them.

(* Thus the Congress of People's Representatives of the oblast elects not only the president of the people's court of the autonomous oblast, but also the presidents of the people's courts of intermediate level.)

Local Congresses of People's Representatives are called upon to define the general tasks of subordinate organs and to direct their activities in the implementation of these tasks. They devote considerable attention to the composition of the cadres of these organs, verifying the legality and advisability of their decisions.

The Congresses of People's Representatives have the right to amend or disallow inadvisable decisions and instructions of the people's committees. The county and higher Congresses of People's Representatives have the right to amend or disallow inadvisable decisions of the lower Congresses of People's Representatives and their people's committees. Volost and other Congresses of the same level have this right only with respect to their own people's committees.

Within the competence of the local Congresses of People's Representatives at all levels are ensuring equality of rights for the national minorities, safeguarding public property, maintaining public order, and protecting the rights of the citizens.

One of the tasks of the local Congresses of People's Representatives is the organization of the masses for the struggle against counterrevolutionary elements and the adoption of measures for strengthening the defenses of the country.

In addition to these general questions, which fall within the competence of the Congresses of People's Representatives in the administrative districts, the autonomy statutes also grant to the national districts a series of other powers reflecting the nature of local national autonomy.

Within the limits of the competence established by the Constitution of the CPR and by other laws of the country, the Congress of People's

Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast works out, under consideration of the conditions of the local nationalities, autonomy and other statutes, subsequently submitting them to the approval of the Permanent Committee of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives. The Congress of the oblast has been granted the right, in conformity with the military system of the country, to organize units of public security.

These special rights are also assigned to all other local Congresses of People's Representatives of the autonomous districts of the oblast, regardless of the level they occupy in its administrative-territorial structure.

As regards the scope of the rights of the local Congresses of People's Representatives, this is determined by the level a given Congress occupies within the system of local organs of authority. It is natural that the county and higher Congresses possess a greater number of rights than the volost Congresses of People's Representatives and others at the same level.

Even this far from complete description of the powers of the local Congresses of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast clearly indicates their broad field of activity and the importance of the role they play in the government, economic, and cultural affairs of the peoples of Sinkiang and in the solution of the tasks confronting the people's democratic state.

4. The People's Committees of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast as Local Governmental Administrative Organs

Corresponding to the system of Congresses of People's Representatives is the system of organs of government administration -- the people's committees. These, together with the organs which they form, constitute local governmental administrative organs.

According to type, all administrative organs can be divided into organs of general competence (general administration) and organs of special competence (branch administration). The organs of general competence are the people's committees which handle all questions of an executive-managerial nature, and the organs of special competence are the departments, administrations, committees, sections, and similar organs, which handle definite segments of the executive-managerial activities.

The mode of organization and legal status of the people's committees at all levels of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast are defined by the statute on autonomy in Sinkiang (Chapter III), adopted in accordance with Parts 4 and 5 of the second chapter of the Constitution of the CPR and the Law "On the Organization of Local Congresses of People's Representatives and Local People's Committees in the Chinese People's Republic."

The highest general executive-managerial organ of governmental power in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast is its People's Committee.

The People's Committee is a collegial organ chosen by the Congress of People's Representatives for a term of 4 years. It consists of the chairman of the People's Committee, his four deputies, and 37 members representing all the nationalities of Sinkiang.

The People's Committee is responsible in its work to the oblast Congress of People's Representatives of Sinkiang and to the State Council of the CPR.

Within the limits of its powers, the People's Committee carries out all the administrative work within the oblast. It exercises guidance of economic and cultural development, coordinates and directs the work of its subordinate organs and lower people's committees, conducts elections to the Congress of People's Representatives of the oblast, convokes its sessions, executes measures connected with administrative districting (in accordance with the law), appoints and relieves workers in the government organs, and takes care of the public affairs of the oblast. The People's Committee takes measures aimed at carrying out the economic plans and budgets; keeps track of tax matters; directs the government industry and trade, which are under the control of the autonomous oblast; exercises leadership in socialist transformations in industry and trade.

The People's Committee has broad powers in the sphere of agriculture. It takes the necessary measures for increasing the harvests and the production of agricultural products; directs the development of livestock raising, the local economies, the handicraft industry, cooperatives in the cattle-raising districts; supervises work in setting up mutual-aid and cooperation groups in the agricultural districts, in the building of irrigation workers.

In the field of cultural development, the People's Committee conducts the affairs of popular enlightenment, public health, pensions, and social security.

The activities of a People's Committee are not limited to matters of economic and cultural development. It has rights also in the spheres of the protection of public order, the safeguarding of public property, and the protection of the rights of the citizens. In conformity with the military system of the country it exercises control of the activities of units of public security, and of work connected with military service.

The statute on autonomy requires the People's Committee of the oblast to ensure equality of rights to the national minorities, to aid them in exercising local national autonomy, in setting up national volosts, and in political, economic, and cultural development.

The People's Committee of the oblast exercises a whole series of other powers which are granted to it by the State Council of the CPR. The People's Committee is the direct executor of the decisions and instructions of the Congress of People's Representatives of the oblast and of acts of higher government organs.

The People's Committee adopts decisions and instructions on matters within its competence. Its decisions are taken by an absolute majority of votes and have obligatory force for all government and public organizations and citizens of the oblast.

It has the right to suspend inadvisable decisions of lower Congresses of People's Representatives, to amend or disallow inadvisable instructions and decisions of its subordinate administrations and sections, and also decisions and instructions of lower people's committees.

The local executive organs are the people's committees of the Congresses of People's Representatives of the autonomous okrugs, counties, autonomous counties, cities, municipal rayons, volosts, national volosts, and settlements. They are elected by the corresponding Congresses with the following compositions: in autonomous districts from 35 to 45 persons; in cities from 9 to 25 persons; in counties from 9 to 21 persons; in counties with very large populations, comprising many volosts and settlements, up to 31 persons; in municipal rayons from 0 to 21 persons; in volosts, national volosts, and settlements from 5 to 13 persons (Art. 30 of the statute).

Each people's committee consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, and committee members. The term of office of the people's committees corresponds to that of the given Congress of People's Representatives.

A people's committee is directly subordinate both to the Congress of People's Representatives which elects it and to the higher governmental administrative organ, and is answerable to them both. This is dual subordination, that is, subordination both horizontally -- to the corresponding Congress of People's Representatives, and also vertically -- to the people's committee of the higher Congress.

Acts of people's committees can be disallowed both by the corresponding Congress of People's Representatives and by the higher people's committee.

The dual subordination of people's committees ensures the fulfillment of the general instructions of the higher organ, giving consideration to local conditions, and guarantees the carrying out of the instructions of the center. It ensures full power to the local Congresses of People's Representatives and centralized administration for the purpose of fulfilling general government tasks.

Local people's committees, being governmental administrative organs, operate under the sole direction of the highest executive and managerial organ of government power -- the State Council of the CPR.

The amount and scope of the powers of local people's committees depend on the place this or that people's committee occupies in the system of local governmental administrative organs. Naturally the oblast People's Committee, as the highest governmental administrative organ of the oblast, possesses a greater number of rights than the county people's committees and still more than the volost people's committees. This is particularly clearly evident in questions relating to financial, economic, and planning activity, and also in measures of administrative districting, the conduct of which is assigned solely to the oblast People's Committee.

The People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, like other people's committees of autonomous units, fulfills several special functions arising from the autonomous rights of a given district. Thus, as already pointed out, the People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast has been granted the right, in accordance with the military system of the country, to control the activities of the units

of public security. It is obliged to aid the national minorities living in compact settlements within the oblast to implement local national autonomy and to set up national volosts.

People's Committees are involved also in the enterprises and construction projects of republic importance located within their territory. In conformity with the legislation of the CPR, they must aid in the work of republic, government, and mixed government private enterprises and also investigate the observance by them of the laws, decrees, and political directives (but without interfering directly in their economic activities.)

Unlike the Congresses of People's Representatives, which are organs of government power which meet periodically, the people's committees are continually-active governmental administrative organs. The main form of the collegial activities of the committees are meetings, held at various times. Meetings of county and higher people's committees are held once a month; meetings of the people's committees of volosts, national volosts, and settlements twice a month. Special meetings may be called in case of necessity.

At their meetings the people's committees discuss various questions of government, economic, and cultural development within their spheres of competence. Thus, on 3 May 1956, the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast discussed the report of comrade Hao Feng-tien, deputy chief of the department of agriculture ("On Spring Field Work"), and that of comrade Liu Tzu-liu, chief of the department of finance ("On Administrative Expenses in 1956")*, and adopted resolutions on them.

(* Sinkiang Gazette, 4 May 1956.)

Interested workers can be invited to meetings of people's committees at all levels, and the chairman of the corresponding people's court and the people's prosecutor can participate in the meetings of county and higher people's committees with an advisory vote.

Within the limits of their powers, the people's committees adopt and publish decisions and instructions. These are approved by a majority of the members of a people's committee. If at meetings of the People's Committees of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast at all levels decisions (resolutions) are drafted on specific questions relating to different nationalities living in a given administrative district, then before their approval these resolutions must be approved by the deputies of the nationalities concerned.

The chairman, deputy chairmen, and other workers in the people's committees share the responsibility of furnishing current guidance on various aspects of the work, acting on the basis of the decisions of the people's committee and the acts of higher government organs. In the name of the people's committee they give operational instructions for the fulfillment of its decisions.

In their activities the people's committees rely on the many members who energetically aid them in the accomplishment of economic, cultural, and social measures. Thus the People's Committee of the city

of Kul'dzha set up 46 section (quarter) people's committees which coordinated the work of 564 subgroups. At the head of each sectional committee stands a chairman who has one or two deputies and several group members.* The city people's committee, coordinating and directing the work of the section committees, strengthens its ties with the toiling masses, draws them into the daily activities of the government organs, and develops their creative initiative and productive activities. This assures the success of the activities of the people's committees in the accomplishment of the tasks of the building of socialism.

(* Ili Gazette, 10 May 1956.)

5. Branch Organs of Government Administration in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast

With respect to the various branches of the national economy, the People's Committees at all levels of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast set up for the day-by-day performance of the functions entrusted to them, the necessary operational organs of branch administration -- departments, administrations, committees, sections, commissions, etc.

The list and number of these organs is defined by the statute on autonomy in Sinkiang.

Thus Article 37 of the statute contains a list of the branch organs of the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. On the basis of subjects dealt with they can be subdivided into the following groups:

1. Those in charge of the economic life of the oblast.

To this group belong the following departments and administrations: production, industry, trade, ways of communications, agriculture, forestry, livestock raising, irrigation, communications, engineering-construction work, municipal building, handicrafts, foreign trade, meteorology, mastering of virgin lands.

2. Those entrusted with social-cultural affairs. To this group belong the following departments, administrations, and committees: enlightenment, public health, culture, committee on physical culture and sports, committee for the study of the spoken and written languages of the national minorities, section on affairs of the religious cults.

3. Those engaged exclusively in administrative activities. Belonging to this group are the following departments, administrations, and committees: civil administration (internal affairs), public security, justice, control, planning, finances, prices, statistical administration, labor, cadres, section on religious affairs, foreign section, chancellery and archives.

In addition to those organs of branch administration, which are directly subordinate to the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, there are also administrations and sections directly subordinate to the ministries of the CPR. Their activities are coordinated and carried out in agreement with the oblast people's committee, which not only aids them in the accomplishment of economic

tasks but also exercises control over the correct observance and timely execution by them of the laws and other acts of the government organs of the CPR.

Organs of branch administration are also set up in the autonomous okrugs, autonomous counties, cities, volosts, national volosts, and settlements. Their activities are coordinated, directed, and controlled by the people's committees.

A list of organs of branch administration in the autonomous districts is given in the statutes of the corresponding autonomous units; in the case of other administrative units, in the statute on autonomy in Sinkiang.

Local people's committees may in case of need establish working organs handling civil affairs, public security, justice, control, planning, finances, taxes, production, industry, trade, transportation, agriculture, irrigation, labor affairs, culture, enlightenment, public health, municipal and communal building, etc.

In cities with rayon divisions, bureaus, sections, or committees are set up; in cities without rayon divisions and in city rayons, departments or bureaus and sections are set up. In counties administrations or departments are set up.

If necessary, the people's committees can set up commissions as temporary working organs. For example, the People's Committee of the Ili-Kazakh Autonomous Okrug at its 26th meeting on 6 March 1956 set up two temporary commissions -- a production commission composed of 12 persons, and a commission for the propagation of the government loan, composed of 11 persons.* These commissions ceased to be active only in late 1956, after they had accomplished their purposes.

(* Ili Dekkhanlary, 13 March 1956.)

The people's committees of volosts, national volosts, and settlements create commissions for civil administration, the maintenance of public order, the people's militia, production cooperatives, public health, and the settlement of disputes. These commissions are formed from among deputies to the corresponding Congresses of People's Representatives and other competent persons.

People's committees of volosts guide the work of village elders, who are elected by the citizens of a village or by those of several small adjacent villages.

The village elder is a major source of support to the volost people's committee in its activities and in putting into effect various measures relating to economic and cultural development, the utilities and sanitation of villages. The elders do a great deal of work among the peasants, explaining to them the advantages of collective over individual conduct of their affairs, drawing them into various forms of agricultural cooperation. They mobilize the population also for carrying out various types of public works, for example, the digging of canals, building of dams, dikes, etc. An important part of the activities of the elders consists in maintaining public order, aiding in tax collections, carrying out the government plan for grain deliveries,

and executing various mass cultural-training and sanitary measures.

Each elder has a deputy who aids in the performance of the functions named.

All the work done by the elder and his deputy not associated with the fulfillment of the obligations of government service has a purely social character. It is not paid for. The people's committees of volosts, relying in their activities on the many active members, above all the elders, ensure the fulfillment of economic and cultural tasks and strengthen ties with the masses, considering and expressing in timely fashion their needs and requests.

All the organs of branch administration of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast form elements of the unified system of government administration of the CPR. Their activities are carried out according to the principle of dual subordination. Departments, administrations, and similar organs of each people's committee are subordinate horizontally to the people's committee which set them up, and vertically to the corresponding section or administration of the higher people's committee.

Horizontal subordination makes it possible for the local organs of government administration, in carrying out the general directions of the higher organ, to consider local economic, national, social, and other conditions. Vertical subordination ensures the fulfillment of the instructions of the higher government administrative organs.

The organs of branch administration in the autonomous districts are under the unified leadership of their people's committees and also under the guidance of the corresponding ministries of the State Council of the CPR.

The people's committees of the autonomous districts of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast have the right, with the sanction of the State Council, to establish, abolish, or combine their working organs.

At the head of the branch organs of administration are chiefs, managers, or chairmen of administrations, bureaus, sections and departments. Deputy posts are established in case of necessity.

The legal status of the administrations, departments, and other organs of branch administration are defined in the statutes on the individual ministries and their local organs, which are approved by the State Council of the CPR. They directly guide the activities of the enterprises, establishments, and other local organizations under their control and direct the work of the administrations, sections, and departments of lower people's committees. They carry out independently the tasks given them, guided in this by the instructions both of their own people's committee and those of the higher governmental administrative organ concerned.

The chiefs, managers, or chairmen of administrations, sections, departments, and other local governmental administrative organs -- within the limits of their powers and in conformity with the laws, decrees, decisions, and instructions of the people's committees, and

the orders and instructions of the working organs of the higher government and administrative organs -- issue orders and give instructions to the organs of the apparatus of lower people's committees under their control.

A "prikaz" [order] is a legal act laying down concrete directives for the workers of a given administration, section, and other equal organs, or for the enterprises, establishments or other organizations which they conduct.

The chief, manager, or chairman of an administration, section, department, or similar organ has the right to disallow orders published by the heads of subordinate establishments, enterprises, and other organizations.

Orders and instructions issued by the heads of branch organs of administration themselves can be disallowed both by the corresponding people's committee and by the heads of a higher organ of government administration. The orders and instructions of heads of oblast administration and of other branch organs of government administration can be disallowed both by the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast and by the corresponding Ministry of the CPR.

Coordinating and directing the work of their subordinate organs of branch administration, the people's committees at all levels of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast ensure the successful accomplishment of the tasks assigned to them.

Besides the major links in the system of local administrative organs, the statute on autonomy in Sinkiang provide also for the creation by people's committees of so-called intermediate administrative organs. Thus Article 48 states that the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, with the permission of the State Council, can establish organs with delegated powers -- okrug administrations. At the head of an okrug administration stands a chief who is named by the oblast people's committee, to which he is responsible and subordinated. The okrug administration conducts its executive-managerial activities within the territory of an okrug. It coordinates and directs the work of the various lower people's committees and checks on their activities.

Through the okrug administration the oblast people's committee exercises general direction of its branch organs. The okrug administration is composed of a series of departments: agriculture, finance, trade, industry, communications, irrigation, planning, etc. These sections guide the exclusively executive activities of the county organs of government administration.

In case of need and with the permission of the oblast people's committee, county people's committees can also create organs with delegated powers -- rayon administrations which coordinate, direct, and check on the work of the people's committees of a number of volosts. Through their branch organs the rayon administrations exercise guidance in the economic, cultural, and government spheres within a rayon. The apparatus of rayon administration consists of a chairman and his

deputies, a responsible secretary, and members named by the county people's committee.

The rayon organs of branch administration work on the instructions of the county governments. They exercise guidance over the activities of the subordinate volost people's committees and control their work.

Delegated organs can be set up also in cities. The people's committees of city rayons and cities without rayon divisions can, if convenient and subject to the approval of the higher people's committee, establish quarter administrations. They form part of the apparatus of the city people's committee, are subordinate to it, and answerable before it.

Quarter administrations are created for strengthening the work of the city people's committee with the population, and for the establishment of closer ties between the government and the broad masses of the population.

The mode of organization and activities of quarter administrations are regulated by special instructions on the organization of city quarter administrations, adopted on 31 December 1954 at the 4th meeting of the Permanent Committee of the VSMP, first convocation.†

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 132-133.)

The quarter administrations carry out various instructions of the city people's committees, guide the mass public organizations of toilers -- quarter committees and various commissions (sanitary, beautification, culture, etc.), and study and generalize the proposals of the toilers. A very important form of their ties with the population are the citizen gatherings which they organize. Here questions are discussed connected with the life of a given quarter. The resolutions adopted at these gatherings are reported by the quarter administrations to the corresponding people's committee, which takes appropriate measures.

In connection with the fact that special okrugs and districts are not permanent links in the administrative-territorial system of the oblast, the delegated organs organized in them do not form elements of the system of major links in the organs of government administration of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. They are considered as only temporary local government administrative organs, having dealt with tasks of government mainly in the first years of the existence of the people's power.

Under the present conditions of the building of socialism the system of delegated organs has become unnecessary in Sinkiang. Recently, therefore, in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast a noticeable tendency has been observed towards their abolition. For example, at the end of January 1956, the People's Committee of the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug, in conformity with a decision of the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, approved by the State Council of the CPR, abolished the special administration of Iliyskiy Okrug. The functions of this administration were transferred

to the People's Committee of the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug.

Along with their administrative organs, the Baratalinskiy, Dzinkhozskiy, and Arasinskiy counties, which were previously included in Iliyskiy Okrug, were transferred to the Baratalinskiy Mongol Autonomous Okrug and put under the control of its People's Committee.

Some of the administrative organs of Iliyskiy Okrug were transferred to the control of the Iliyskiy Kazakh Autonomous Okrug.* Abolished also were the okrug administrations of the Southern Sinkiang and Yarkendskiy okrugs.** In May 1958 the Urumchinskiy administrative district was abolished, some of its counties being transferred to the control of the Sandzhiyskiy Autonomous Okrug and others to the control of the People's Committee of the city of Urumchi.***

(* Ili Gazette, 1 February 1956.)

(** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 2 August 1956.)

(*** Ibid., 17 May 1956.)

The abolition of temporary government administrative organs -- the delegated organs -- is one of the most important measures aimed at the further strengthening of the local government organs.*

(* On the nature of the measures which have been taken by the CPR for the further strengthening of the system of Congresses of People's Representatives, see Tung Pi-wu, "On Some Questions of Contemporary Political-Juridical Work. Report Made at the 3rd Plenary Session of the All-Chinese Committee of the NPKS, II Convocation in Early 1957," Druzhba, 4 April 1957.)

The VIII Congress of the CP of China, summing up some results of state affairs in the CPR for the first years of its existence, asserted the need for further strengthening and improvement of the governmental administrative organs, both central and local, and the elimination of the extraordinary centralization of the government administration.

In connection with the tasks of socialist building there is a growing requirement for an intensification of the activities of local government organs. On their effectiveness and activities will depend much of the success in the accomplishment of these tasks. Therefore the VIII Congress of the Communist Party of China required that party and government organs develop broadly the activities and effectiveness of local government organs, put in order the administrative functions, central and local, and expand considerably the powers of the local government organs.*

(* Materialy VIII Vsesoyuznogo s"ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 479.)

The measures laid down by the VIII Congress of the CPC are being carried out gradually. In 1956 only preparatory work was done, but in 1957 in a number of districts of the country these measures were put in practice. Since 1958 they have been introduced on a broader scale. Their full implementation is planned for the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

The successful accomplishment of the decisions of the VIII Congress of the CPC will contribute to a further development of democracy in the activities of the government organs, both central and local; an intensification of their ties with the toiling masses; and an intensification of the role of the latter in the solution of the problems of the building of socialism.

In Sinkiang, as in other districts of the country, a broad campaign has been waged for reform of the work organization of the government organs. The basis for the conduct of this campaign was laid by the expanded plenum of the Party Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, which was held in April and May of 1957.* (* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 25 May 1957.)

This plenum, which lasted for one month, was able to reveal serious defects in the work of the organs of self-rule. It planned concrete steps for their elimination. The decision of the plenum constituted a program of the struggle of the toiling masses to root out from the work of the local government organs bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism. After the plenum, seminars were held throughout the oblast at which the problem was discussed of the work organization of the government organs.

In the course of the campaign many valuable statements and proposals were received which contributed to an improvement of the work of the government organs.

However, some bourgeois elements have made use of this campaign for counterrevolutionary purposes. They have attempted to defame the Communist Party organs and the organs of people's power, to undermine their authority among the masses, to weaken their guiding role in the system of the dictatorship of the people. An active struggle with bourgeois right-deviationist elements was undertaken by participants in the 4th session of the oblast Committee of the NPXS, first convocation. This session revealed the true nature of these elements as enemies of the people's democratic order who had attempted to oust the Communists from leadership in the state, to destroy the system of people's democracy and restore capitalism.* (* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 16 August 1957.)

All the attacks of the rightists were fittingly rebuffed by the toiling masses, led by the party organs. The masses have rallied still more closely around the Communist Party, which is ceaselessly concerned for their interests, for the strengthening of all government organs, both central and local, bringing them closer to the toilers.

The results of the campaign for reforming the work organization were not slow in making themselves felt. For example, in August 1957, the Urumchinskiy city People's Committee, on the basis of constructive proposals put forward by the people's representatives and by the masses in the course of the campaign for reform of the work organization, investigated the water supply situation in the city, medical service to the population, local transportation, the trading system, supplies, and other branches the activities of which are associated with the

satisfaction of the growing needs of the population. These steps were the first results of the campaign for reformation of the work organization.*

(* Ibid., 27 August 1957.)

Similar measures were taken by other government organs.

In particular, in the city of Urumchi, from 31 July to 8 August 1957, a conference of workers of the administration of culture was held at which 345 criticisms and proposals were studied. These had been gathered in the course of the campaign of cultural establishments. The conference worked out concrete measures to deal with them.*

(* Ibid., 5 September 1957.)

At the 24th meeting of the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast in April 1958, the results were summarized of the campaign for putting in order the work organization of the government organs during the past 3 years and detailed future measures in this field were planned.*

(* Ibid., 12 April 1958.)

The carrying out of the campaign for reform of the work organization raised the level of the organizational work of the organs of self-rule, contributed to bringing them closer to the toiling masses, and increased their role in the solution of the tasks of economic and cultural development.

6. The People's Court and The People's Prosecutor's Office

The people's court and the people's prosecutor's office have an important place in the system of government organs of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. The people's court and the people's prosecutor's office are powerful levers of the government machinery of the CPR, standing guard over the triumphs of the people's revolution, guarding the public and state order from the plots of the enemies of the peoples of China, and defending the rights and legal interests of the toiling masses.

The main principles of the organization and activities of the people's court and people's prosecutor are set forth in the Constitution of the CPR and in the relevant laws on the organization of the people's court and the people's prosecutor's office of the Chinese People's Republic, adopted at the first session of the first convocation of the VSNP on 21 September 1954.*

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 659-676.)

On the basis of these legislative acts a system has been created in Sinkiang, as in other districts of the country, of people's courts and of people's prosecutor's offices.

The major tasks of the socialist administration of justice in the CPR, according to the Law on the Organization of People's Courts, are protecting the system of people's democracy, ensuring successful socialist building, and guarding the public property and the rights and legal interests of the citizens (Article 3).

The system of court organs administering justice in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast consists of an oblast people's court, people's courts of medium level for comparatively large cities and autonomous okrugs, lower people's courts for counties and autonomous counties, and people's courts for cities and city rayons.

The oblast people's court is the court of highest jurisdiction within the territory of the oblast. It supervises the judicial activities of all the lower people's courts (Article 79 of the Constitution of the CPR and Article 14 of the Law on the Organization of People's Courts in the CPR).

The oblast people's court is responsible for its activities to the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast and is accountable to it (Article 80 of the Constitution of the CPR and Article 14 of the Law on the Organization of People's Courts in the CPR).

The oblast people's court consists of a court president, his deputies, chiefs of collegiums, deputy chiefs of collegiums, members of the court, and people's assessors.

The president of the oblast people's court is elected by the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast for a term of 4 years. Deputies to the president, chiefs and deputy chiefs of collegia, and court members are appointed and replaced by the People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

In its capacity as a court of first instance, the oblast people's court examines the most serious criminal matters involving officials in the oblast apparatus of government organs, cases sent to it by lower people's courts, and cases which the oblast court considers it necessary to take under its jurisdiction.

Besides criminal cases the oblast people's court also has the right to examine any civil matter it considers necessary to take under its jurisdiction. However, the oblast court acts as a court of first instance in civil matters only comparatively infrequently. As a rule it examines only the most important civil matters, those which affect the interests of the government. Among these are disputes between government enterprises or establishments, between government enterprises and cooperatives, and between government or cooperative enterprises and private persons.

A very important part of the activities of the oblast people's court is the examination in the appropriate collegia of cassation complaints and appeals against the verdicts, decisions, and judgments of lower people's courts; and also examination of matters arising from complaints received by the oblast people's prosecutor's office as part of the system of judicial supervision.

The people's courts, set up in comparatively large cities and autonomous okrugs, are courts of medium level. They consist of a president of the people's court, one or two deputies, several chiefs of collegia, deputy chiefs of collegia, and court members.

Presidents of people's courts of middle level are elected by the Congress of People's Representatives of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast for a period of 4 years (Article 9, paragraph 9 of the statute on autonomy in Sinkiang). Deputy presidents of these people's courts, chiefs of collegia and their deputies, and court members are appointed and replaced by the corresponding people's committees on the nomination of the president of the court concerned (Article 32 of the Law on the Organization of People's Courts in the CPR).

Step up within these courts are a judicial collegium for criminal matters and a judicial collegium for civil matters. In case of necessity other judicial collegia can also be formed.

The tasks of people's courts of the second instance consist in the main of the examination of petitions and appeals from the verdicts and decisions of lower people's courts, and the processing of matters over which, according to law, they have primary jurisdiction.

These courts frequently examine in the first instance criminal and civil matters which have been referred to them by the lower people's courts. For example, on 5 April 1957, the Iliyskiy Okrug people's court at an open judicial hearing examined the case of the former member of the Kuomintang government, Yuan Tse-chang. He was tried for a number of counterrevolutionary crimes, for which the court sentenced him to 6 years' imprisonment.* The Aksuyskiy Okrug people's court in April of the same year considered the case of a group of criminals headed by the recidivist, Medzhit Kurbanov, accused of the commission of mass robberies and violence. The court sentenced the head of the group to execution and the other seven criminals to prison for periods ranging from 5 to 15 years.**

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 23 April 1957.)

(** Ibid., 26 April 1957.)

In the case of very important criminal and civil cases brought before it, a court of medium level has the right to refer them to the people's court of the highest level, that is, to the oblast people's court.

The lowest judicial level is made up of people's courts of counties and autonomous counties, people's courts of cities and city rayons. All these are courts of first instance and try the great majority of criminal and civil cases.

The lowest people's courts represent a major link in the system of people's courts -- that link closest to the masses. They consist of a president of the court, one or two deputy presidents, and several judges. Under the lower people's courts there may be created judicial collegia for criminal matters and judicial collegia for civil matters, each headed by a collegium chief.

The lower courts are called upon to guard government and public property, the private property of citizens; to settle various disputes concerning property; to examine matters connected with violations of the marriage law and petty criminal cases not requiring formal judicial trial.

The lower people's courts also exercise general guidance over the activities of the people's conciliation commissions and carry on judicial administration within the limits of the rights granted them by the higher organs of judicial administration.

The lower people's courts play an important role in the accomplishment of the tasks of the building of socialism in the village.

Through their activities they contribute to the successful execution of measures in the fields of cooperation, mutual aid, and cooperation in agriculture; the punishment of counterrevolutionaries and kulaks who are violating the laws and obstructing mutual aid activities, cooperation, and public order in the villages.* In late March 1956, for example, the Sui-tungskiy County people's court tried the landlord Abdullambek and the kulak Dzhumak Ashim for activity aimed at disrupting agricultural measures, discrediting party and government organs, violating laws, and not paying taxes. The court sentenced these enemies of the people's democratic order to deprivation of freedom for various periods.** (* Shih Liang, "The Organization and Activities of Judicial Organs of the Chinese People's Republic," Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo, 1958, No. 8, p. 118.)

(** Ili Gazette, 12 April 1956.)

All links of the local people's courts hand down verdicts, judgments, and decisions, which can be appealed by the parties concerned to the prosecutor's office or to a higher people's court. Judgments and decisions of local people's courts of medium and high level, handed down by them as courts of second instance, are final.

Created under each local people's court are judicial committees whose members are named by the corresponding people's committees on the nomination of the president of the court (Article 10 of Law on the Organization of People's Courts in the CPR). The tasks of the judicial committee consist in the regularization of judicial practices, the discussion of a number of other questions which arise in the court of judicial work.

Administration of local people's courts in Sinkiang is carried out by the Supreme People's Courts of the Chinese People's Republic* and the people's court of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast, which is subordinate to the oblast people's committee and the highest organ of judicial administration.

(* Before April 1959, the administration of local people's courts in the CPR was exercised by the Ministry of Justice CPR and its subordinate organs. In April 1959 the Ministry of Justice CPR was abolished and its functions transferred to the Supreme People's Court of the republic.)

The daily activities of the local people's courts in Sinkiang, as elsewhere in China, are conducted on the democratic principles laid down in the Constitution of the CPR and on the basis of the laws on the organization of people's courts.

One of the most important principles of the activities of people's courts is the participation of people's assessors in the examination of

matters. People's assessors are elected by the lower Congresses of People's Representatives or by the people themselves in general elections.

Any citizen over 23 years, except those deprived of political rights, can be elected a people's assessor. During the period of fulfilling their obligations in the courts, people's assessors possess all the rights of judges. Each people's assessor performs his duties in court for not more than 10 days a year.

People's assessors continue to receive their wages during the period of the performance of their duties in court. To people's assessors who do not have income in the form of wages the people's court makes an equivalent grant.

"The Communist Party of China," as A. Ye. Lunev points out, "guided by the Lenin's statements on the role of the court in a socialist state in the matter of drawing the broadest masses of the toilers into active participation in state development, is successively putting into practice measures aimed at drawing into the work of the courts representatives of the workers, peasants, and progressive intelligentsia."*

(* A. Ye. Lunev, Sud, prokuratura i gosudarstvennyy kontrol' v Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respublike, /The Court, Prosecutor, and State Control in the Chinese People's Republic/, State Legal Publishing House, 1956, p. 31.

The institution of people's assessors makes it possible to draw into the administration of justice the broad masses of toilers, to utilize the practical experience and knowledge of the toiling masses in the trial of complex cases in the courts.

A firm principle of socialist justice is the independence of the people's courts and their subordination only to the law. Article 78 of the Constitution of the CPR reads: "People's courts are independent in the conduct of cases and are subordinate only to the law." The independence of the courts signifies their freedom from any kind of influence in the adjudication of cases. "...in the adjudication of cases the people's courts must not be subjected to the interference and influence of government organs, organizations, or individuals and are guided only by the law."*

(* Shih Liang, "The Judicial System in the CPR," 1957, No. 12, p. 16.)

The independence of the courts is ensured by the people's democratic order; by the passing of democratic legislation which obliges the court to judge on the basis of genuine equity, or one law equal for all, and to administer justice in the interests of the people.

The independence of the people's courts does not exclude, however, their responsibility to the organs of government power. Article 80 of the Constitution of the CPR lays down that local people's courts are responsible to the Congresses of People's Representatives of the same level and are answerable to them. This status of the courts follows from the nature of a people's democratic state in which the people themselves, through their representative organs, not only elect but also control the activities of the people's courts. "The people's courts," as the newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao states, "must be subservient to the law,

subservient to the will of the people, be under the control of the people, be controlled by the prosecutor and the higher people's court."* This ensures the administration of justice in the interests of the toiling masses, in the interests of the building of socialism; and prevents the court from committing such errors in its work as could harm the state, society, or individuals.

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 16 October 1954.)

Congresses of People's Representatives have no right to demand from people's courts the handing down or reversal of any judgment or decision. Therefore the responsibility of a people's court to the corresponding Congress of People's Representatives does not mean that the latter exerts any influence on the independence of the court in the processing of any case.

A very important principle of the organization and activities of the people's court is that of the equality of all citizens before the law. Article 85 of the Constitution of the CPR proclaims that "all citizens of the Chinese People's Republic are equal before the law." In conformity with this, the law on the organization of people's courts provides that the processing of cases in the people's courts is to be carried out on the basis of a law which is one and the same for all citizens, regardless of their nationality or race, sex, profession, social origin, education, property status, or residence.

In the organization and activities of the people's court the principle of equality for the nationalities is consistently applied. This principle is legislatively embodied in Article 77 of the Constitution of the CPR, which states: "Citizens of all nationalities have the right to use in the course of judicial procedure their own spoken and written languages used in a given locality, the people's court must provide interpreters."

"In districts where there are compact settlements of national minorities, or in districts where many nationalities live, the people's courts are required to conduct judicial proceedings in the language of the given locality..."

One of the principles of the administration of justice is the open hearing of cases in all courts. Article 76 of the Constitution of the CPR states: "The processing of cases in all people's courts is to be conducted publicly, with the exception of special cases, as provided for by the law." This means that each citizen has the right to be present at a court session, to observe the work of the courts, to know how it is administering justice. In addition, public trials have great educational value for those present and contribute to strengthening the ties between the courts and the people.

Through its activities the people's court trains the citizens in a spirit of loyalty to the fatherland and in a spirit of conscientious observance of the law.

Broad provisions are made in the activities of the people's courts for the protection of the accused. This right is also laid down in the

Constitution of the CPR. "By law the defendant can use various forms of defense: he can conduct his own defense or entrust his defense to an attorney. A close relative or guardian of the defendant or persons recommended by people's organizations can appear as defense counsel. In case the accused or respondent cannot find a defense counsel, the people's court may appoint an attorney for him."*

(* Shih Liang, "The Judicial System of the CPR," 1957, No. 12, p. 15.)

The democratic bases of the organization and activities of the people's courts assure a successful struggle against remnants of the forces of counterrevolution and assist the people's democratic state in the accomplishment of the tasks of the building of socialism and the defense of the rights and legal interests of the citizens.*

(* Lun Pu-wu, "On the People's Court in China," Druzhba, 13 September 1956.)

In the strengthening and preservation of the new social and state order and revolutionary legality the people's prosecutor's office plays an important role. It is called upon to exercise supervision over the observance of the laws by all organs under the jurisdiction of the State Council, local government organs, workers in the government apparatus, public organizations, and the citizenry.

The newspaper Jen-min Jih-pao wrote as follows regarding the tasks of the people's prosecutor's office: "The people's prosecutor's office is a powerful weapon of the dictatorship of the people's democracy and a very important unit in the system of the people's power protecting the revolutionary legal order. It must not only exercise strict control over the correct implementation of state laws and decrees, but also must wage a determined struggle against all kinds of illegal criminal activities directed against the interests of the state and the people."*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 12 September 1951.)

The main principles of the organization and activities of the people's prosecutor's office are laid down in the Constitution and in the Law on the Organization of the People's Prosecutor's Office of the Chinese People's Republic, which was adopted on the basis of the Constitution.*

(* Konstitutsiya i osnovnyye zakonodatel'nyye akty Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, Publishing House of Foreign Literature, 1955, pp. 670-679.)

Organs of the people's prosecutor's office are set up both centrally and locally.

At the basis of the organization of the local people's prosecutor's office lies the Leninist principle of the centralized structure of the prosecutor's office in a socialist state. This principle has found legislative expression in Article 83 of the Constitution of the CPR, which states: "Local people's prosecutor's offices are independent of local government organs in the accomplishment of their functions." They are all under the sole direction of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office.

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast the following system of organs of local people's prosecutor's office has been set up: the oblast people's prosecutor's office; the people's prosecutor's offices of autonomous okrugs; people's prosecutor's offices of counties, cities, and autonomous counties.

The oblast prosecutor's office is the highest link of the system of local people's prosecutor's offices enforcing the law within the territory of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. It consists of the chief prosecutor of the people's prosecutor's office, his deputies, prosecutors of departments, and members of the prosecutor's committee, who are appointed and replaced by the Permanent Committee of the VSNP on the recommendation of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office (Article 21 of the Law on the Organization of People's Prosecutor's Offices of the CPR).

Set up in the oblast people's prosecutor's office are a prosecutor's committee and the following departments: judicial supervision, supervision over legal matters in the field of economic development, investigation. At the head of each department stands a chief.

The next link of the system of local people's prosecutor's offices in Sinkiang are the people's prosecutor's offices of the autonomous okrugs, which direct the work of a definite number of county people's prosecutor's offices. The people's prosecutor's offices of autonomous okrugs also consist of a chief prosecutor, his deputies, the prosecutors of departments, and members of the prosecutor's committee. These are appointed and removed by the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office on the recommendation of the prosecutor's office of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast. The apparatus of the okrug people's prosecutor's office is basically similar in organization to that of the oblast prosecutor's office.

An okrug people's prosecutor's office exercises supervision over the legality of the activities of the okrug government organs, including investigative organs and court organs, public organizations, office holders, and citizens, and also organs of government power and administration of the counties in a given okrug.

The lowest level of the people's prosecutor's office in Sinkiang is represented by the county prosecutor's offices, the people's prosecutor's offices of cities and autonomous counties. Their organizational structure is basically similar to that of the higher links of the system of people's prosecutor's offices. However, as a rule, departments and sectors are not set up in them. At the head of each county and city people's prosecutor's office stands a chief prosecutor who has several deputies. Under him there are several prosecutors who make up the people's prosecutor's office. All these are appointed and removed by the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office on the recommendation of the oblast people's prosecutor's office.

County and city prosecutor's offices perform basically the same functions as higher links of the system of local people's prosecutor's

offices. They exercise supervision over the legality of the activities of county and city government organs, people's committees, the governmental administrative organs under the latter's jurisdiction, and the governmental administrative organs of volosts, national volosts, and settlements within a given county, district, or city.

All the links of the system of local people's prosecutor's offices in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast are subordinate to higher people's prosecutor's offices and work under the unified direction of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office.

The people's prosecutor's office in the CPR is a collegial organ. Its most important collegial activities are those of the committees of the prosecutor's offices. These guide the chief prosecutor. The committee discusses and decides the most important questions connected with the activities of a people's prosecutor's office.

The local people's prosecutor's office controls law enforcement in various ways. To be mentioned first of all is the general surveillance which it exercises. This consists in the prosecutor's office systematically acquainting itself with all the instructions, orders, and measures of the local government organs from the point of view of their legality, following them through to observe how the workers in the public organizations, and citizens are complying with the laws.

Within the limits of their competence, the chief oblast prosecutor and his subordinates have the right to request and obtain from the corresponding government organs and public organizations copies of all instructions, orders, documents, and other materials. The government organs, public organizations, and office holders to whom the people's prosecutor's office makes such requests are obliged to submit the required materials and information together with relevant explanations.

An important means for exercising supervision over the activities of government organs and public organizations is the participation, with the right of advisory vote, of workers of the people's prosecutor's office in various conferences and meetings. In Sinkiang the chief prosecutors of the local people's prosecutor's offices at all levels can take part, with the right of advisory vote, in the sessions of the corresponding Congresses of People's Representatives.

This not only gives the people's prosecutor's office an opportunity to become well informed on the conditions of law observance in the activities of a certain government organ or a certain public organization, but also contributes to the establishment of closer working ties with them.

If workers in the people's prosecutor's office discover infractions of legality in the activities of government organs, they have the right to demand their elimination. In case of refusal to comply with such a demand, the leader of the people's prosecutor's office is obliged to communicate the facts concerning the violation of law to the higher people's prosecutor's office as a preliminary to bringing a protest to that government organ upon which depends the

reversal of the matter in question.

The people's prosecutor's office does not have the right directly to revoke, change, or halt the execution of illegal regulations, orders, and measures, but he must do everything possible to see that they are corrected. The law obliges the government organs and social organizations to take the necessary measures upon receipt of the reports and protests of the people's prosecutor's offices and to assure a timely response to them concerning the measures taken.

Very important for the accomplishment by the people's prosecutor's office of its general supervisory duties are the petitions and complaints of citizens, the notes published in the newspapers and journals, and letters from workers and peasants. The people's prosecutor's office is obliged to concern itself with the safeguarding of the rights of the citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of the CPR and all the legislative acts of the people's democratic state. Any citizen whose rights have been violated in any way can make a complaint to the prosecutor's office. The prosecutor to whom such a complaint has been sent must carefully examine the complaint. If it is substantiated, he must, with the means at his disposal, prosecute the legal violation and restore the rights of the complainant.

In all their activities the organs of the people's prosecutor's office rely on the broad masses of toilers, who maintain close ties with them and serve their interests.

One of the most important forms of the ties of the people's prosecutor's office with the masses is represented by the correspondents of the people's prosecutor's office. Correspondents are toilers chosen at meetings upon the recommendation of the Communist Party organizations and other democratic social organizations. Through the correspondents thousands of workers, employees, peasants, students, women, trade-union members, and youths are becoming experienced in the work of strengthening law enforcement.*

(* A. Ye. Lunev, Sud, prokuratura i gosudarstvennyy kontrol'v Kitayskoy Narodnoy Respubliki, State Legal Publishing House, 1956, p. 59.)

Giving timely warning of the facts of a legal violation in the activities of a certain government organ, office holder, or in the conduct of citizens, the correspondents give valuable assistance to the organs of the people's prosecutor's office in their struggle to maintain the legal order and to defend the interests of the state and the people.

In all cases where the legal violation is of a criminal nature, the prosecutor is not limited to communicating the facts and entering a protest but institutes a criminal proceeding against the guilty parties and holds them to criminal account. The people's prosecutor's office has full responsibility for the investigation of a criminal matter. It can investigate the case through its own investigative apparatus. If, however, the investigation is carried out by other organs, the people's prosecutor's office directly observes the carrying out of such investigation.

The people's prosecutor's office is required to oversee law enforcement and the grounds for arrests drawn up by the organs of preliminary investigation. No citizen can be arrested without the authorization of the people's prosecutor's office, except for cases in which a decision has been handed down by a people's court.

The law gives the people's prosecutor's office the duty of evaluating the results of the preliminary investigation. If it comes to the conclusion that the charge has not been proven, it halts the case. If, however, it comes to the conclusion that the charge has been proven, the case is brought to court where the representatives of the prosecutor's office support the government accusation.

Recently the organs of the people's prosecutor's offices at all levels have begun to be more concerned with the performance of judicial supervision, sending their workers more frequently to judicial sessions where they support the government accusation in various criminal matters. The General Prosecutor of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office, comrade Chang Ting-cheng, in his report on the work of the people's prosecutor's office of the CPR at the fourth session of the VSNP, held in July 1957, stated that at that time in many districts of the country, "the cases in which representatives of the prosecutor's office take part in the examination in court amount to not less than 50% of all matters coming before the courts. Moreover, there are not a few counties and cities where all the court cases are tried with participation of representatives of the prosecutor's office."*

(* Druzhba, 5 July 1957.)

The prosecutor, appearing in court as an accuser, presents to the court all the evidence collected concerning the acts of the accused, substantiating and formulating the accusation in his court speech. The prosecutor utilizes the judicial tribunal not only for supporting the accusation but also for propagating the laws and policies of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China. The speech of indictment of the prosecutor in the people's court reveals and brands the infamy of the criminals and at the same time educates the masses. Participating in the trial, the prosecutor at the same time exercises supervision over the legality of the activities of the people's court. He takes care that the law is not violated either by the court or by either party to the judicial process. The prosecutor oversees the legality and basis of judicial verdicts, decisions, and judgments. If the people's prosecutor decides that the law has been violated by the court in the verdicts, decisions, or judgments handed down, it has the right in the cassation appeal system to lodge a protest. In the course of judicial supervision the higher people's prosecutor's office has the right to lodge a protest against the verdicts or decisions having the force of law as soon as any legal violations have been discovered.

The work of the people's prosecutor's office is of great importance in civil cases. The prosecutor is required to participate actively in the examination by the court of civil matters not only in

order to ensure observance of the interests of the government but also in order to protect the rights of individual citizens. The law grants the people's prosecutor's office the right "to bring an action or to support an action in important civil cases touching the interests of the government and the people" (Article 4).

Finally, the people's prosecutor's office has the obligation to exercise supervision over the carrying out of the verdict in criminal cases, and over the activities of the labor-correction establishments. The representative of the people's prosecutor's office to whom this task is assigned looks after the progress achieved in carrying out the verdicts. Specifically, he sees that only those persons for whose arrest there is a legal basis are held in places of confinement. The prosecutor is required to observe that the maintenance of prisoners in places of confinement and the system in effect meet the legal requirements in order to prevent illegal disciplinary punishments, ensure observance of the necessary rules of sanitation, etc.

"In the matter of the supervision of places of confinement and corrective-labor establishments, the people's prosecutor's offices at all levels have carried out, with the assistance of the corresponding organs, a thorough inspection in all the districts of places of confinement and corrective-labor establishments, coordinating this inspection with examination of the work done in rooting out counter-revolutionaries. In some districts, the system has already been introduced of periodically inspecting places of confinement and corrective-labor establishments. The results of the inspections have confirmed that the places of confinement and corrective-labor establishments at all levels are in the main consistently putting into practice the policy of combining punishment and surveillance with ideological re-education, combining manual labor with political training. They have carried out a difficult task in the face of great difficulties and have achieved great results in the remolding of criminals into new citizens and in utilizing the labor of criminals."*

(* Report of comrade Chang Ting-cheng, General Prosecutor of the Supreme People's Prosecutor's Office of the CPR on the work of the people's prosecutor's offices at the fourth session of the VSNP in July 1957, ibid.)

The organs of the people's prosecutor's offices of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast, successfully performing the tasks assigned to them, are strengthening socialist legality, contributing to the successful building of a socialist society, and safeguarding the triumphs of the people's revolution and the rights and legal interests of the people.

The prosecutor's office and the court, representing conductors of the policies of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China, are carrying out their work under the leadership of the Communist Party organizations.

The tasks of the struggle for the further strengthening of the legal system in the CPR have been defined by the VIII All Chinese Congress of the Communist Party of China, which stated that, in order to strengthen the democratic dictatorship of the people, to consolidate order, to ensure the fulfillment of the building of socialism, and to guard the democratic rights of the people, it is necessary to strengthen the legal system in the country."

(* Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s"ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 53.)

The Congress required all government organs and social organizations to observe the laws strictly and to wage a determined struggle against counterrevolutionaries and other criminal elements. The statements of the VIII Congress of the CP of China now define the activities of the judicial organs and the organs of the people's prosecutor's offices, both central and local.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC ORDER AS THE BASIS FOR THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL MINORITIES OF CHINA

1. Political and Economic Accomplishments in the Development of Sinkiang

Having destroyed national oppression and established the political and legal equality of all the peoples of the country, the people's power from the first days of its existence set itself the task of eliminating economic and cultural inequalities between the nationalities. The Communist Party and the Government of China, proceeding on the basis of the domestic conditions of the country and utilizing the experience of the USSR in national development, laid down detailed steps and means for the accomplishment of this task.

These are, first, the granting of many-sided assistance by the Communist Party and the Government of China to the economically and culturally backward nationalities; second, the creation of industrial bases in the districts of the national minorities, as foundation for their economic and cultural development and bases for rallying the peasantry around the working class; third, the development of agriculture, the solution of the problems of irrigation, and the formation of cooperatives among the broad masses of peasants and handicraft workers as the truest means for bringing erstwhile oppressed peoples into the general system of the building of socialism; fourth, the implementation of the policy of local national autonomy for the various national minorities of the country as the most important means for the solution of the nationality question and for bringing the organs of self-rule closer to the masses; fifth, the development of a culture national in form and socialist in content, the setting up of a broad network of courses, schools, and higher educational institutions in the native languages for the training of national cadres.

For the successful implementation of the planned measures it was necessary to create the basis for a new economy. The necessary prerequisites for this were the liquidation of the privileges of foreign imperialists in China, the confiscation of the capital of the comprador bourgeoisie, and the transfer of this property to the people's government, the replacement of the feudal and semi-feudal systems of landholding by a system of peasant landholding.

The social and economic transformations which have been carried out in the Chinese People's Republic, have opened up unlimited opportunities for the economic, political, and cultural development of the previously backward peoples of China. This is clearly evident in the example of the development of the national minorities of Sinkiang.

Thanks to the fraternal aid of the great Chinese people, the toiling masses of the national minorities of Sinkiang achieved great successes during the first years after the liberation in the building of a new life. With the establishment of the people's power in the

province a great program of purposeful work was developed. Guided by the general line of the Communist Party of China, the local government and administrative organs embarked during the reconstruction period on the implementation of various measures and democratic transformations in agriculture. First of all, it was necessary to rebuild and develop the irrigation system. Under the conditions prevailing in Sinkiang, where rain falls rarely and the summers are hot, these measures were of exceptional economic significance. In the past, enormous areas of fertile soil were not cultivated, because the landlords who had exercised monopoly over the sources of water demanded a fabulous price for its use. The poor peasants had no other recourse than to abandon the cultivation of the land. The people's power of Sinkiang liquidated the feudal relationships as regards water sources, irrigation works, and canals. Springs, wells, canals, and irrigation ditches were declared national property. All cultivators received the right to use them.

The provincial people's government, with the aid of units of the People's Liberation Army, did a great deal of work in rebuilding destroyed irrigation works and building new works. The number of such systems is increasing yearly. In the 8 years since the liberation more than 14,000 kilometers of new canals and 38 large and small reservoirs have been built in Sinkiang; in addition, 80,000 kilometers of previously operating canals and irrigation systems were repaired.*

(* Druzhba, 1957, No. 5, p. 28.)

In Sinkiang, in 1955, the construction was completed of 23 irrigation projects, with the aid of which 725,000 mou $\frac{1}{15}$ mou = 1/15 hectare⁷ could be watered.*

(* Planirovaniye i statistika [Planning and Statistics], 1956, No. 3.)

In May 1956 the construction work was finished ahead of schedule on the Meng-tsin reservoir, the largest in the oblast, for the irrigation of large areas of virgin lands in Urumchinskiy Okrug.

As a result of these measures the irrigated area in Sinkiang is increasing annually, and the size of the cultivated areas is being expanded. In 1955 this amounted to 22,330,000 mou, which exceeded by 6.46% the sown area in 1954.* In 1956 the sown area was increased by 2,350,000 mou.** In the following years, in connection with the mastering of virgin lands, the sown area increased still more. The expansion of the sown areas increased agricultural production considerably and raised the material and cultural level of the population.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 2 August 1956.)

(** Ibid., 17 April 1957.)

Broad prospects were opened up for the rapid development of agriculture in Sinkiang by the agrarian reform carried out in 1952 and 1953. In early 1954 the reform had been completed in all the agricultural districts. About 7,300,000 mou of land had been confiscated from landlords* and distributed among more than 2,100,000 landless and small landholding peasants.**

(* Izvestiya, 13 October 1955.)

(** Druzhba, 29 September 1955.)

The land reform, which was carried out on a democratic basis, fundamentally changed the class composition of the village. The landlord class was liquidated. The kulak stratum of the population became insignificant. The middle peasant was transformed into the dominant figure in the village.

The successful accomplishment of the agrarian reform resulted in increased class consciousness among the peasants of the various nationalities and contributed to the further strengthening of their friendship with the great Chinese people.

The agrarian reform, which liquidated the landlord class, tore out the economic roots of feudalism. It thereby assisted in the removal of national inequalities and oppression, a still further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry in Sinkiang as in other districts of the country, and the strengthening of the authority of the Communist Party and the people's democratic rule.

But in the final analysis, the peasant question could be solved in the transition period from capitalism to socialism only by the productive cooperativization of small and medium units of the peasant economy. Only by following this tested course could the peasantry escape from the exploitation of the kulaks and achieve a prosperous and cultured life.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China, having successfully carried out the agrarian reform, faced the task of beginning socialist transformations in the social and economic order of the country. The material bases for the building of socialism in the country were laid by the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, which provided, along with the development of heavy industry, for thoroughgoing transformations in agriculture.

An enormous role has been played in the socialist transformation of agriculture by the mutual-aid labor teams and agricultural production cooperatives which were developed on a broad scale after the successful accomplishment of the agrarian reform and particularly after the creation of the districts of local national autonomy. Heading the movement for the expansion of mutual aid and cooperation, the party and the government organs of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast took account of the different conditions prevailing in each district in which the peasants lived. They attached significance to the development and strengthening of all forms of mutual aid: temporary and permanent mutual-aid labor teams and also agricultural production cooperatives. As a result of the large amount of organization work carried out by the people's power in Sinkiang, great successes have been achieved in the socialist transformation of agriculture. In a 10-month period (October 1955 to July 1956), the number of agricultural cooperatives increased from 1,702 to 10,781, and the number of farms which had joined cooperatives increased from 47,000 to 834,561, that is, from 5.3 to 91.93% of all peasant farms.* According to figures for 1957, the total number of peasant farms which were members of agricultural cooperatives amounted to 97.6% of the total.**

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 2 August 1956.)

(** Ibid., 1 January 1953.)

Thus the cooperativization of the peasants on the basis of cooperatives of a new type was basically completed.

Aimed at the socialist transformation of agriculture and supported by the broad peasant masses, the measures of the Communist Party and the People's Government encountered fierce opposition from the class enemy. The enemies of the people have made use of all possible means to block the cooperative movement. In some places they have succeeded in working their way into positions of leadership in agricultural cooperatives. For example, in early September 1957, at a meeting of the "Sheng-li" agricultural production cooperative, Pan-fang-kuo-wu Volost (Urumchinskiy County), a kulak group headed by Ma San-cheng was unmasked. This group had attempted to undermine production and to break up the cooperative. These people deliberately injured horses, spoiled sown seed grain, demoralized production discipline among the members of the cooperatives, took part in countryrevolutionary propaganda and agitation, etc.* A similar group of kulak elements was unmasked also in the "Kuo-feng" cooperative of Po-kung Volost of Sandzhiyskiy Autonomous County.

(* Ibid., 19 September 1957.)

The Communist Party and the organs of the people's power, supported by the broad masses, administered a decisive rebuff to all the attempts of the kulaks to destroy the cooperative movement in the village and to increase their influence among the peasants.

The enormous achievements of the Chinese People's Republic in the development of industry and its successes in the agricultural cooperative movement among the peasantry of the country made it possible for the People's Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast to turn, beginning in mid-1956, to the creation, on the basis of the agricultural production cooperatives, of a higher form of collective agriculture -- kolkhozes, in which all the means of production are held entirely in common, with the receipts from production being divided among the toilers. Quickly the number of such cooperatives grew noticeably in Sinkiang.

While by the end of 1956 the number of peasant farms which had joined agricultural production cooperatives of the higher type (kolkhozes) amounted to 50% of the total number of peasant farms, by mid-April 1957 the figure had already reached 94.7%,* and by the end of 1957 it had risen to 95.49%.** Thus in 1957 the socialist transformations in the agricultural districts of Sinkiang were basically completed.

(* Ibid., 17 April 1957.)

(** Ibid., 1 January 1958.)

The creation of agricultural cooperatives of a higher type contributed to a further increase in the labor productivity and income of the cooperative members. This in turn resulted in an improvement in their material living conditions, raised their cultural and political level, and contributed to the unity of the different nationalities.

By the end of 1956 more than 90% of the agricultural cooperatives had increased their production and the incomes of more than 80% of the cooperative members had increased considerably.*

(* Ibid., 17 April 1957.)

Struggling to carry out the tasks laid down by the party in its program for the development of agriculture, the agricultural cooperatives of Sinkiang are increasing the grain crop from year to year. According to the figures for 1957, the gross grain yield in Sinkiang amounted to 4.68 billion chin, which exceeded the 1952 figure by 26.63%.*

(* Ibid., 30 January 1959.)

In 1958, as a result of the "great leap forward" in agriculture, the gross grain harvest in Sinkiang increased by 57.3% in comparison with 1957, and percapita by 1,093.*

(* Ibid.)

Of importance for increasing agricultural production is the mastery of the virgin lands. During the First Five-Year Plan 5,620,000 mou of land were thus brought under cultivation in Sinkiang.*

(* Ibid.)

As a result of the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the building of socialism, of the rapid development of the cooperatives themselves, in the second half of 1958 in Sinkiang, as in the other districts of China, there began a mass movement for the creation of people's communes. These are to be set up in districts of volost size on the base of agricultural cooperatives. Each volost constitutes one commune, in which is manifest a complex development of the various branches of the national economy. At the present time in Sinkiang 532 people's communes have been set up uniting more than 5,800 agricultural production cooperatives. In these are found 98% of all the peasant farms.*

(* Ibid., 30 January 1959.)

The people's communes are called upon to play an important role in further developing the productive forces, in assuring a steep rise in agriculture, in accelerating the tempos of socialist development. Comrade Chou En-lai, in his report on the work of the government of the CPR at the first session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, second convocation, said: "The people's commune is a great triumph of our people in the sphere of social organization. Under the conditions of our country it is the best form not only for the transition from socialist collective ownership to all-nation ownership in the village, but also for the transition from a socialist to a communist society."*

(* Pravda, 19 April 1957.)

Now that the cooperative movement has already been basically completed, the organs of self-rule and the local party organs, directed by the decisions of the VI and VII Plenums of the CC of the Communist Party of China,* are conducting, along with an intensification of political work among the peasants, a great deal of work also for the

organizational-economic strengthening of the people's communes.
(* Problemy mira i sotsializma /Problems of Peace and Socialism/, 1959, No. 3, pp. 73-84; Pravda, 9 April 1959.)

A great role is being played in the development of agricultural production by the mechanized state farms, experimental stations, seed-growing stations, etc. They are the real leaders in socialist transformations in the village and give important aid to the peasants. Following their example, the peasants see ever more clearly the prospects for their own bright future and are moving along the path of cooperation with still greater confidence.

During the First Five-Year Plan 52 state farms were set up in Sinkiang.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1 January 1958.)

The agricultural stations are also giving an enormous amount of aid to the peasant masses with a view to increasing agricultural production. In Sinkiang, as in all China, the scope of activities of these stations is increasing yearly. They are introducing the advanced experience of state farms and experimental farms, propagating new scientific achievements in the field of agriculture, collecting and disseminating the experience of advanced workers in agriculture, and organizing courses for the study of agrotechnics.

In several districts of Sinkiang, where the most favorable conditions have been created for the use of modern agricultural machinery, MTS /machine-tractor stations/ are being set up. Preparing the fields and gathering the harvest on the fields of the agricultural cooperatives, they are showing the peasants the enormous value of the socialist industrialization of the country in the cause of developing agriculture. The MTS are of real significance for increasing the yield of agricultural crops and expanding the movement for agricultural cooperation in Sinkiang.

Livestock raising has an important place in the agriculture of Sinkiang.

During the period of Kuomintang rule livestock raising declined in Sinkiang. The size of the herds fell sharply year after year.

At the present time, the Communist Party is paying a great deal of attention to the development of livestock raising in Sinkiang. During the years of the people's rule a great deal of work has been done in the revival and further development of livestock raising. A struggle has been organized against foot-and-mouth disease, Siberian ulcer, glanders, and other animal diseases which have annually inflicted enormous losses on livestock raising. Veterinary units have been set up everywhere. Breeding stations have been organized by the state and stocked with pedigree animals imported from the Soviet Union.

In the livestock-raising districts the organs of self-rule frequently dispatch various agit-brigades to spread the experience of socialist transformations in the village, and also public-health workers to give medical aid to the cattle raisers. The People's Bank annually allots large sums of money to satisfy their needs. In the first 4 years

it made grants to livestock raisers in the amount of 14,800,000,000 yuan.* From 1953 to the first half of 1954, 12,075,000,000 yuan were also allotted for the needs of livestock raisers.** From 1954 to 1956 the People's Bank allotted the amount of 2,740,000 yuan.***

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 28 August 1954.)

(** Sotsialistik Kazakhstan /Socialist Kazakhstan/, 5 March 1955.)

(*** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 4 October 1957.)

As a result of the measures taken for the development of livestock raising, the cattle herds in Sinkiang are increasing from year to year. While in 1959 in Sinkiang there were 13,200,000 head of cattle,* by mid-April 1957 the number had increased to 20,118,000,** and to 22,230,000 by the beginning of 1959.***

(* Voprosy istorii /Questions of History/, 1954, No. 1, p. 56.)

(** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 April 1957.)

(*** Ibid., 30 January 1959.)

On the basis of the peculiarities of the economy of the cattle-raising districts, the Communist Party and the people's government did not carry out before 1956 any socialist transformations among the livestock raisers, because the necessary preconditions still did not exist. It was necessary to strengthen the people's rule, to guide the relations between the cattle raisers and shepherds, to prepare the conditions for the dissolution of feudal forms of exploitation, etc. These tasks were successfully carried out.

During a 5-year period of the existence of the people's rule the remnants of counterrevolutionary groups were liquidated in the cattle-raising districts. This which made it possible to strengthen the public order, to create and strengthen the organs of the people's government, to set up party organizations everywhere, to perform a great deal of work in training cadre workers from among the cattle raisers of the various nationalities. With respect to the relations between shepherds and cattle raisers, the people's government followed a policy of observing their mutual interests. These organs aided the poor cattle raisers, developed a mutual-aid program, instituted the centralized buying and selling of livestock products.

In 1955 in Sinkiang the first livestock-raising cooperatives were set up. By the summer of 1956 there were already 300 of these. These cooperatives demonstrated from the outset their advantage over the individual farming of the cattle raisers. They have achieved considerable successes in increasing output, which has made it possible to raise the income of the members of the cooperatives by more than 90%.*

(* Ibid., 22 March 1957.)

Careful attention has been given to the development of trade, culture, education, and public health.

As a result of the measures taken, great changes have taken place in the economy of the cattle-raising districts. These have resulted in the appearance and growth of socialist elements which have created the conditions for the carrying out of socialist transformations in livestock raising.

A great deal of preparatory work preceded the carrying out of socialist transformations in the livestock-raising districts. Cadres of propagandists and agitators were trained who explained the policy of the Communist Party and its aim of bringing about socialist transformations in the livestock-raising districts. Much work was done to rally the tribal leaders and clergy to the support of the measures of the people's rule, etc.

An important event in the life of the peoples of Sinkiang was the First Party Congress of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast held in early July 1956. This congress examined the results of the work of the party organization of the oblast for the previous 6 years, the democratization of the social and state life of its peoples, discussed the results of the socialist transformations thus far accomplished, and planned a concrete program for further economic and cultural development in Sinkiang.*

(* Ibid., 18 July 1957.)

In the fall of 1956 a campaign was begun in Sinkiang for the formation of livestock-raising cooperatives. By April 1957, more than 1,200 livestock-raising and mixed agricultural and livestock-raising cooperatives had been set up.* The number of cattle-raiser farms which had joined these cooperatives amounted to more than 40% of the total number of such farms. Together with the cattle raisers who had joined the mutual-aid brigades, it reached 60%.**

(* Ibid., 17 April 1957.)

(** Ibid.)

As a result of the fact that in livestock raising there exist both large and small cattle farms, socialist transformations are carried out differently in each case.

The farms of cattle owners are as a rule transformed into state-private farms so that in the future they can be transformed into state livestock farms. By the end of 1957, 76 state-private livestock-raising farms had been set up in Sinkiang.* Mixed farms having a semi-socialist character are to be transformed into state farms, that is, socialist farms, not at once but after a rather lengthy intervening period. By January 1958 there were in Sinkiang 58 state cattle-raising farms.**

(* Ibid., 1 January 1958.)

(** Ibid.)

Small cattle farms are being united into livestock-raising mutual-aid brigades. By the beginning of 1957, more than 6,000 such brigades had been set up in Sinkiang.*

(* Ibid., 14 February 1957.)

In order that the cooperativization of individual farms may be carried out successfully, the party organs and organs of the people's rule are doing a great deal of explanatory work but firmly maintaining the principle of voluntariness and permitting no coercion or dictatorial methods.

The success of the cooperative movement among the cattle raisers depends on the concrete circumstances existing in a certain district. In the agricultural districts where cooperativization in agriculture has already been mostly completed, rather strong party organizations have been set up and cadres of local nationalities have been trained in considerable numbers. The cooperative movement among the cattle raisers is being carried out here comparatively quickly and successfully. In the livestock-raising districts socialist transformations are being accomplished more slowly, a circumstance which is to be explained by many factors -- the relative weakness of party organizations, which do not even exist in many districts; the small number of local national cadres; the presence of considerable survivals of feudalism.

Successes in the matter of carrying out socialist transformations in the livestock-raising districts are creating new conditions for the further development of government, economic, and cultural development in Sinkiang.

The organs of the people's rule in Sinkiang are giving careful attention also to the development of trade, using it as one of the levers for raising the economic and cultural level of the oblast. During the years of the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique, trade in Sinkiang, as in other districts of the country, was in the hands of Chinese merchants, local feudal lords, and the comprador bourgeoisie, who robbed the toiling masses. With the establishment of the people's rule this period of robbery and arbitrary behaviour was finally ended. Government trading organizations have been set up and are operating in Sinkiang. In the first half of 1957 there were in the oblast nine government trading companies of oblast scope, 78 of obkrug and city scope, and 645 of county scope.* Stable prices were set for agricultural and livestock products. The government trading organizations are now carrying on trade even in the most distant localities. (* Ibid., 3 October 1957.)

The trade relations between the oblast and other sections of the country are growing and becoming ever stronger, which increases the activities of the peasants and cattle raisers with a view to developing agriculture and livestock raising and also considerably increases their standards of living.

Cooperative trade has also been widely developed in Sinkiang. From year to year the number of supply-sales cooperatives, created on a voluntary basis, is growing. They supply their members with consumer goods and agricultural implements, fertilizer, etc., at prices lower or no higher than market prices. At the same time, they purchase agricultural products from the peasants and sell them.

A constant increase has been noted in the supplies of such items, necessary for the expansion of agricultural production, as various agricultural implements, draft cattle, and means for the struggle against plant and seed pests.

The cooperatives are conducting their affairs in cooperation with government organizations, striving to maintain moderate prices in the

local markets. They play an important role in the stabilization of the prices for consumer goods and for more complete satisfaction of the requirements of the population.

With respect to private trade, it is steadily decreasing. Also changing is the relative importance of state-private trading enterprises. While in 1954 the share of private trading enterprises in the retail trade of Sinkiang as a whole amounted to 42.1%, by 1955 it was only 31.3%. By that time socialist transformations in trade had already been completed in 60 counties and cities.*

(* Druzhba, 1 November 1956.)

In 1956, 23,875 trading enterprises had been subjected to socialist transformation, a figure which constitutes 95.64% of the total number of private trading enterprises.*

(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 10 October 1956.)

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China attach exceptional importance to the development of industry in the national districts, since the problem of the elimination of existing inequalities cannot be solved without the industrialization of the national districts of the country. Comrade Liu Shao-chi, in the political report of the CC CPC to the VIII All-Chinese Congress of the Party, said that "along with social transformations, the key in the matter of the conversion of the national minorities into modern nations is the development of modern industry in their districts."* These party statements are being successfully implemented, as is evident in the example of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

(* Materialy VIII Vsekitayskogo s'ezda Kommunisticheskoy partii Kitaya, Gospolitizdat, 1956, p. 54.)

In Sinkiang, in the past, there was almost no industry. Before the liberation there were only a few industrial enterprises -- the low-capacity, handicraft type. And part of these were destroyed by the Kuomintang forces.

After the establishment of the people's democratic order in Sinkiang, various industrial enterprises began to be created in connection with the building of irrigation works and the development of agriculture. Thanks to the successes achieved by the Chinese working class, the toilers of Sinkiang in the course of the first 3 years not only reconstructed the destroyed industry but also expanded it considerably. With the aid of the Soviet Union metallurgical, machine-tractor, and cement plants were built and put into operation, as were an electric power plant and a large coal mine.

In late February 1955 the construction of the Ulaybayskiy hydroelectric power station was completed. This station was completed in 2 years.

For the purpose of satisfying the growing requirements of the population for mass consumption goods and products, the people's government has built textile, silk, and flour mills and oil-pressing plants. Five kilometers from Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang, on a broad plateau, a large textile combine has been set up. This is the first textile

industry plant in Sinkiang. It ships textile products to many neighboring provinces of China: Tibet, Ching-hai, and elsewhere.

In 1957, from funds allotted by the Ministry for Government Purchases of Agricultural Products CPR, the construction of six new cotton-cleaning plants was finished in Kashgar. Similar plants have been built in the Kashgarskiy, Miralbashinskiy, Yarkendskiy, Fayzabadskiy, and Merketskiy counties.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 5 October 1957.)

Also operating in Sinkiang are large nonferrous - metal and petroleum - industry plants, and the "October" truck-repair plant was also built and put into operation.

This truck-repair plant, equipped by means of the latest Soviet technology, is playing an important role in the economic life of the oblast where trucks are the major form of transportation.

Government companies have been set up and put in operation in Sinkiang for the extraction of nonferrous and rare metals, as has government company for the extraction and refining of petroleum. In a comparatively short period of time these enterprises have achieved great successes in their development. Now there are more than 400 industrial enterprises,* many of them of fairly large size.

(* Ibid., 30 January 1959.)

Earlier, the extraction and distillation of petroleum in the foothills of the Tien Shan was done by hand and with primitive methods. Now a modern combine has been set up there. The petroleum is refined in the province itself. The oil refinery, built with the help of Soviet specialists in 1953, meets the requirements of Sinkiang for benzene, kerosene, and diesel fuel.

A number of industrial enterprises in Sinkiang have been supplied with the most modern equipment imported from the Soviet Union, as well as equipment built in national enterprises. For example, at the oil refinery all the newest machinery and apparatus were made in the Soviet Union.

The mechanization of production processes is at a high level in the enterprises for the mining of nonferrous and rare metals. All the production processes in the concentration plant which went into operation in 1954 are mechanized. Openpit ore mining is done with the newest percussion boring machines and excavators.

The volume of industrial production in Sinkiang in 1957 was 6.62 times greater than in 1952.*

(* Ibid., 1 January 1958.)

In 1957 all the industrial enterprises of Sinkiang fulfilled the goals of the First Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

The total value of industrial production, according to the figures for the First Five-Year Plan, amounted to 446,000,000 yuan, which exceeds by 164.12% the value of industrial production in 1952. The year 1958 was one of new production increases. Thanks to the enormous revolutionary enthusiasm and creative activity of the workers, peasants, and other toilers of the city and village, the production goals for 1958 -- the

first year of the Second Five-Year Plan -- were successfully fulfilled.* Seventy-three thousand tons of iron ore were mined, that is, over 9 times as much as in 1957; 35,000 tons of steel were poured, or 1.4 times more than in 1957; more than 3,600,000 tons of hard coal were mined, a figure which exceeds that of the year 1957 by 2.2 times; 116,170,000 kwt of electric power were generated, or 47% more than in 1957; 350,000 tons of petroleum, or 272% of the comparable 1957 figure.

(* See the report of Comrade Saifuddin Azizov on the work of the People's Committee of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast at the first session of the oblast Congress of People's Representatives, second convocation, 22 January 1959, Sinkiang Jih-pao, 30 January 1959.)

The total value of industrial production in 1958 amounted to 740,000,000 yuan. In comparison with 1957, it increased by 66.71%.

A still greater development of the economy of Sinkiang is planned for 1959.

By the end of 1959 the total value of industrial production is to be increased by 116.2% in comparison with 1958; agricultural production, by 109.3%.

The production plans for 1959 provide for the smelting of 250,000 tons of iron, 150,000 tons of steel, the making of 100,000 tons of rolled steel, an increase in coal output by 67% over 1957, of petroleum by 106%, electric power by 41%, the grain yield by 56%, cotton by 165%, cattle by 15%.

The successful accomplishment of the planned tasks for 1959 -- the second year of the Second Five-Year Plan -- will contribute to a further increase in the level of industrial and agricultural production and to an increase in the material and cultural level of the toilers.

Along with the creation and development of industry a working class is being formed that is growing from among the local national cadres. In 1958, in Sinkiang, there were more than 125,000 workers, among which were many Uighurs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tatars, and members of other nationalities.*

(* Druzhba, 1958, No. 11, p. 12.)

The number of supervisory and engineering-technical workers among the local nationalities is increasing. For example, in the petroleum-industry district of Tu-shan-tzu, at the Sinkiang petroleum company, six workers who are members of national minorities were given responsible posts as deputies to the director of the enterprises and deputies to the chief of a department. The drilling department of the administration of this same district has trained more than 300 engineering-technical workers from among the local population.*

(* Druzhba, 1 November 1956.)

An important role has been played by Soviet specialists in the coordination and expansion of production in the enterprises of the district.* They have provided a great deal of help in training Chinese in local cadres.

(* "Carry Out Carefully and with Initiative the Suggestions of Soviet Specialists," Sinkiang Jih-pao, 11 January 1956.)

The Soviet specialists working in Sinkiang have passed on to the workers and engineers of the various nationalities a rich store of experience in industrial development, having taught them measures to achieve higher labor productivity. Working in cooperation with the Soviet specialists, former peasants, herdsmen, and farm laborers have grown into skilled foremen, drill operators, lathe operators.

Comrade Hu Ping, an engineer of the 13th expedition of the Ministry of Geology CPR, in describing the work of Soviet geologists in an interview on 16 April 1957 with a correspondent of the newspaper Sinkiang Jih-pao, said that "their diligent labor has provided valuable material necessary for the investigation of geological phenomena according to the relevant laws, the planned conduct of geological-survey operations, and the compilation of a geological map of the region."* He further pointed out that the geologists and technical personnel of the expedition, working jointly with the Soviet geologists and instructed by them, had mastered their specialities and could carry on the work independently.
(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 18 April 1957.)

Relying on the labor enthusiasm of the masses of the people, on the many-sided aid of the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic is developing the industry of the country on a wider scale day after day, particularly in districts settled by the national minorities.

Of great importance for the industrial development of Sinkiang, as of other national districts of China, is the successful achievement of socialist transformations in private industry.

By early October 1956, 488 private industrial enterprises in Sinkiang had been transformed into mixed state-private enterprises.* In the city of Urumchi, in January 1956, all private industrial enterprises were transformed into mixed state-private enterprises.
(* Jen-min Jih-pao, 10 October 1956.)

Socialist transformations are being carried out successfully in the handicraft industry.

According to incomplete data, by the end of 1955, 86 handicraft production cooperatives had already been created in Sinkiang, as well as eight production supply-sale cooperatives and 580 productive and supply-sale handicraft groups. The number of handicraft workers and employees in handicraft industry who had joined cooperatives and groups totaled 9,666, constituting 10.08% of the total number of toilers occupied in handicraft production.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 2 February 1956.)

By the end of 1957 socialist transformations had been basically completed both in handicraft industry and in private industry and trade.* By that time there were in Sinkiang more than a thousand handicraft cooperatives and groups to which belonged 83.5% of all the handicraft workers of the oblast.**

(* Ibid., 1 January 1958.)

(** Ibid.)

The carrying out of socialist transformations in agriculture, industry, and trade contributed to a rise in the level of production and the material well-being of the nationalities, the strengthening of friendship and mutual aid both between all the nationalities and within each nationality.

For the 5-year period 1952 to 1957, the average wages of the workers and employees increased by 27.1%, and the purchasing power rose by 1.25 times.*

(* Ibid.)

Of importance for the further development of the economy of Sinkiang, as of the neighboring provinces, is the Tien-shui--Lanchow railroad, built in 1952 with the help of Soviet specialists. The availability of this railroad facilitates the exploitation of local natural resources (copper, iron, coal, salt, petroleum) and opens up broad prospects for trade between the Kansu, Nin-hsia, and Ching-hai provinces and the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast.

Construction is proceeding successfully on the Sinkiang--Lanchow railroad which will unite Sinkiang with many industrial areas of the country, connecting the very rich Yumen oil fields and other important economic districts of Western China with the major industrial centers of the country.

Great prospects will be opened up for the economic and cultural development of Sinkiang through the building of the Lanchow--Urumchi--Aktogay railroad, work on which was begun under a joint agreement of 12 October 1954 between the governments of the USSR and the CPR. Construction of this line is planned for completion in 1959.

After the construction of the new main railroad, the route from Moscow to Peking will be shortened by 1,000 kilometers. This main railroad line, which crosses the USSR-CPR border, will unite still more closely the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. This road is rightfully called both in China and in our country the "road of friendship."

* * *

As a result of the successful accomplishment of democratic and socialist transformations in the transition period, a new economy has been created for Sinkiang which is characterized by several social and economic forms. The major economic forms are socialism, small trade, and capitalism. Corresponding to these major forms of economy are the main forms of property: government, that is, all-national; cooperative; the petty private property of the toiling peasants (smallholders and artisans); capitalist property.

All-national property comprises the government sector of the economy, which has a socialist character. It includes government enterprises in industry, railroad and motor transportation, banks, state farms (goskhozes), large irrigation systems, oil fields, mining enterprises, mineral wealth. The government sector plays a leading role in the development of the economy, serving as the material base for the construction

of the foundation of the socialist economy. Therefore the government provides for its preferential development.

The cooperative sector has acquired great significance in the Sinkiang economy. The cooperative movement is a very important means for the socialist transformation of peasant small-holdings and the handicraft industry. The cooperative sector has a basically socialist character. This sector comprises supply-sale, consumer, and credit cooperatives; agricultural production cooperatives (kolkhozes); and people's communes. They are based on the collective ownership of the toilers. In the cooperative sector, in the course of the transition period, semi-socialist economic forms are also included, specifically temporary and permanent mutual-aid groups based on the private collective ownership of the peasants. This form of ownership is a transitional one. It prepares the smallholder peasant for collective ownership. Thus at the present time in Sinkiang, as throughout all of the new China, the government sector and the cooperative sector form one form of socialist ownership constituting the dominant form of ownership in the country.

Along with the socialist sector, there will remain in Sinkiang during the transition period the private capitalist and small trade sectors. The small trade sector constitutes the individual farms and businesses of toiling peasants and artisans who have still not joined cooperatives. In connection with the broad development of agricultural production cooperatives and people's communes, the number of peasant smallholders has sharply fallen. The government, on the basis of voluntariness, has guided and is continuing to guide -- in a consistent manner and according to a definite plan -- these farms and businesses onto the socialist path, encouraging their union in the various types of cooperatives.

The private capitalist sector is represented by kulak enterprises in rural areas, enterprises of capitalists in industry and trade.

In the first years of the transition period the people's democratic state restricted the activities of the kulak enterprises and in the period of the broad movement for the socialist transformation of agriculture (1955-1957) it began to put into effect the policy of the gradual elimination of the kulaks as a class by the use of peaceful methods: education, persuasion, at first outside the cooperatives and later also inside them. In the course of the socialist transformations in rural areas a large proportion of the kulaks were brought into cooperatives where they were gradually retrained and transformed into toilers. As regards the private capitalist enterprises, the government is restricting and transforming these into socialist enterprises through the state capitalism sector. Also belonging to the state capitalism sector are the capitalist enterprises which in various forms are connected with and cooperate with the state sector of the economy. These capitalist enterprises are under the direction of the state, which provides for their development on the road to socialism. The private capitalist sector has become insignificant in the Sinkiang economy as a result of the implementation of socialist transformations in private industry and trade.

A special feature of the economy of Sinkiang, as that of all China, in the transition period is thus its multiform character. For each social-economic form there is a corresponding class: for the socialist form the working class and the cooperativized peasantry; for the small trade form, the smallholding peasant; for the private capitalist form, the city and village bourgeoisie.

The main classes are the working class and the toiling peasantry, which are united for the common purpose of socialist development under the leadership of the working class. The Communist Party and the Government of China, relying on a socialist national economy, are exercising a policy aimed at the transformation of the multiform economy of the transition period into a single socialist national economy not only in the central regions of the country but also in the districts of the national minorities, particularly Sinkiang.

The main feature of this policy is the socialist industrialization of the country and the socialist reconstruction of individual peasant farms.

2. Growth of the Material Prosperity and Cultural Level of the Toilers

The Communist Party and the Government of China are giving a great deal of attention not only to the economic and political development of the peoples of the country, but also to their cultural development. In Sinkiang, as in other districts of China, from the first days of the establishment of the people's rule an enormous amount of work began with a view to raising the cultural level of all the nationalities. The Communist Party and the People's Government immediately began a broad struggle for the elimination of illiteracy, against landlord and bourgeois ideologies, for the introduction of an ideology which would serve the interests of the peoples, for the education of the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, for the creation of a new culture. They are attempting to give a democratic and mass character to the culture and education of China. Previously the workers and peasants could not even dream of an education, it being the prerogative only of the propertied classes. Now the toilers of all the nationalities and their children have free access to an education.

The organs of government administration in the sphere of social-cultural construction have done a great deal of work in the development and improvement of culture, enlightenment, and public health in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Oblast. As a result of their having carried out various measures, considerable successes have been achieved in the field of cultural development.

Primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions have been organized and various cultural-enlightenment establishments have been set up. There are now in Sinkiang 1,218 secondary and 4,534 primary schools.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 30 January 1959.)

From year to year the number of children being educated in the primary and secondary schools is increasing. While in 1952 there were only about 307,000 pupils in the primary schools,* in the 1958-1959 school year there were more than 718,000.**

(* Political Journal of Sinkiang, 1952, No. 9, p. 6.)

(** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 30 January 1959.)

In the secondary schools in 1952, 16,162 pupils were being taught,* while in the 1958-1959 school year there were more than 146,000 pupils in these schools.**

(* Political Journal of Sinkiang, 1952, No. 9, p. 6.)

(** Sinkiang Jih-pao, 30 January 1959.)

In the schools instruction is being given to the children of a single fraternal family of the peoples of Sinkiang-Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Sibo, Tatars, Mongols, and other nationalities. Textbooks and teaching materials are being published in the local languages.

The number of primary and secondary schools is growing in the nomadic livestock-raising districts whose populations previously did not have any notion of schools.

Much work is being done in all the national districts of the oblast to liquidate one of the most burdensome legacies of the past -- adult illiteracy. This work has been assigned to special committees composed of members of Communist Party organs, organs of popular enlightenment, public organizations, and scientific societies. For the purpose of eliminating illiteracy among Chinese workers and peasants, a special method has been worked for the rapid teaching of characters, on the basis of which 300 teaching hours are devoted to teaching the minimum number of characters necessary for reading. In 1957 the number of students in reading courses designed to liquidate illiteracy amounted to 500,000.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 April 1957.)

The Communist Party and the People's Government are carrying out an active policy for the creation of written languages for those nationalities who do not yet have them, and for the improvement of the written languages of other national minorities. For example, in July 1954, in the Kyzylskiy Kirghiz Autonomous District, a committee was set up to prepare a Kirghiz alphabet. Studying the experience of the Soviet Union in the preparation of national alphabets, this committee worked out a Kirghiz national alphabet with 30 letters. At the present time, students in the schools, workers and employees in enterprises and institutions, peasants, and cattle raisers are studying and using this alphabet. The new alphabet is contributing to the further development of the cultural, social, and political life of the toilers of the Kyzylskiy Kirghiz Autonomous District.

The very rapid growth of the economy of the oblast on the basis of the socialist industrialization of the country and the cooperativization of agriculture will require the training of various specialists with high and medium skills from among the local nationalities.

The forge for national cadres for various branches of the economy and culture is represented by the Academy of National Minorities. The size of its student body is increasing steadily. In 1956, 1,240 persons of both sexes and various nationalities were trained there.* (* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 April 1957.)

The Sinkiang Agricultural Institute has been set up in the oblast. The teaching plan of this institute is drawn up after the experience of Soviet agrobiology and agriculture. The institute trains specialists in agriculture, forestry, water economy, and livestock raising.

A mining institute has also been started, as well as an institute of the Russian language, for training national cadres for various spheres of the oblast economy.*

(* Narodnyy Kitay, 1955, No. 20, p. 10.)

Built in 1956 in the vicinity of the city of Urumchi, a medical institute is now in operation. In 1957, 399 persons studied there, of which 219 were members of local nationalities.* In the near future the Sinkiang medical institute will become one of the large centers training medical cadres in China. Three thousand students will study there. The institute has a polyclinic with 900 beds with the latest laboratory and physiotherapy equipment.**

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 4 October 1957.)

(** Druzhba, 22 November 1956.)

Preparatory work is being done in setting up in Sinkiang a branch of the Academy of Sciences GPR.

Sinkiang has also built middle-level educational institutions: mining, livestock-raising, and forestry technical schools; nurses' schools; a teacher-training institute; and others. In 1956 in Sinkiang there were 24 specialized secondary schools.*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 14 February 1957.)

The road to knowledge has been opened up for all the nationalities living in Sinkiang. The ranks of the national cadres are growing.

In 1957, 61,700 members of the national minorities were working in government organs, i.e., more than 54% of the total number of all cadre workers in Sinkiang. According to incomplete data, the post of people's committee chairman is held by 3,000 national cadre workers, including 100 chairmen of county people's committees, 22 chairmen of the people's committees of autonomous okrugs, and members of okrug people's governments and mayors of cities.

In the various committees, administrations, and departments of the oblast people's committee, other than the trade and finance administrations, all the leading cadre workers are members of local nationalities.

Party membership is also growing among the local nationalities. In the oblast party organization in 1957 there were 44,000 party members from among the local nationalities, i.e., 47% of the total party membership in the oblast. Many members of local nationalities occupy leading positions in the party organs, including secretaries of rayon party committees, heads of departments and deputy heads in county and higher

party organizations. Among the cadre workers from among the local nationalities are 4,900 women, some of whom have leading positions.* (* Ibid., 21 July 1957.)

The constantly-growing publishing industry is playing a considerable role in the cultural development of the peoples of Sinkiang, particularly as regards the elimination of illiteracy.

The Communist Party and the People's Government are devoting much attention to the development of publishing for the enlightenment of the national minorities. In Peking a special publishing house has been set up to print the literature of the national minorities. It is publishing large editions of books in the languages of the local nationalities. The Committee on the Affairs of the Nationalities under the Central Government CPR is putting out journals, books, posters, and other materials in the languages of the national minorities. Advanced members of the national minorities are being increasingly attracted to the study of Marxist-Leninist literature. In Sinkiang the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung are being published. The works of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into the Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian, and other languages.

The periodical press is being widely developed in Sinkiang. At the present time in Sinkiang, 13 newspapers are being published in the Uighur, Kazakh, Chinese, Mongolian, and Sibo languages. Thirty-one county newspapers are being put out in these languages.* (* Ibid., 22 March 1957.)

A people's publishing house has been set up in the oblast. It has published large editions in the Uighur, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Mongolian, and other local languages of several hundred different political, artistic, and scientific titles.

Literary creativity is developing rapidly among the various nationalities of Sinkiang. During the years of the people's rule more than 2,000 poems have been published in the local newspapers and journals, in addition to 170 stories and novels and more than 50 songs and scripts. Prose and poetry by local writers have been published. For the purpose of developing further the literature of the local nationalities, a section of the Union of Chinese Writers was set up in June 1957 in Sinkiang.

Under the favorable conditions of the people's democratic order the art of the peoples of Sinkiang is flourishing. After the liberation of the country, many national minorities created their own artistic companies. The programs of the artistic companies of the national minorities enjoy great popularity among the whole population of China.

In recent years one of the great Uighur musical works, "Mukam," was completed. The motion picture "Kasym and Zhmelya" was made: it portrayed the struggle of the Kazakh people against the Kuomintang system.

In Urumchi the large new "Peoples" theater has been built. It has 1,200 seats and has had an important influence in raising the cultural level of the toilers. In Sinkiang in 1958 there were eight theaters;

63 motion-picture houses; 100 houses of culture, libraries, and museums; and 185 portable film projectors serving the inhabitants of the oblast.*
(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 1 January 1958.)

In 1959 in Urumchi it is planned to build a television center, to increase the number of motion-picture houses and portable movie projectors, and to develop physical culture and sports.

An important place in the dissemination of science, literature, and art among the broad masses is occupied by the network of public readers, libraries, workers' and peasants' clubs, and other cultural-enlightenment establishments.

In the new China literature and art have become the property of the broad masses of the people.

Radio broadcasts are beginning to be employed on a broad basis. Radio is one of the most popular forms of enlightenment and propaganda. The network of rebroadcast points serving the various districts of the oblast is growing constantly.

The People's Government is giving special attention to the development of public health in the areas inhabited by the national minorities. During the rule of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique, smallpox, plague, cholera, typhus, and other diseases were common, annually claiming millions of lives. Consequently, immediately after the establishment of the people's democratic order in China, a series of measures were taken to eliminate epidemics. In Sinkiang, as elsewhere in the country, a people's movement has developed for better sanitation and hygiene. Effective measures have been adopted for the improvement of sanitary conditions in populated places, and a great deal of work has been done to improve hygiene in the home. In the province a broad system of medical institutions has been set up for the training of medical workers: physicians, feldshers, nurses, medical orderlies, etc. Several tens of thousands of such specialists have already been trained in Sinkiang. Medical aid to mothers and infants is coming to be of enormous importance in Sinkiang. Sixty-three maternity homes and stations for medical care for mothers and infants have been opened in the province.* The improvement of medical care for mothers and infants has made possible a marked reduction in mortality among the newborn and in childbirth.
(* Ibid., 4 October 1957.)

Free medical aid is being provided on a broad scale in the isolated livestock-raising areas. In every national district, even the smallest, there are hospitals, dispensaries, and other medical establishments.

In 1957 a clinic comprising several buildings with 900 beds and the latest equipment and laboratories was opened in a suburb of Urumchi.*
(* Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 2 October 1957.)

Immediately after the establishment of the people's democratic order, important changes occurred in all spheres of the life of the peoples of Sinkiang. The 8-hour day was introduced in the enterprises of Sinkiang. Wages were computed according to the amount of work performed. Fundamental changes took place in hiring conditions as regards workers in private enterprises. For workers in private enterprises the

same rights were granted as in government enterprises. They now have the right to join a union, unemployment, compensation, etc. The entrepreneur no longer has the right to discharge workers at will. They can be discharged only in strict conformity with the labor legislation of the Chinese People's Republic. Very much is being done by the organs of the people's rule to improve working conditions. Considerable sums are being allotted for this purpose.

In the government and social enterprises and establishments a unified system of social insurance has been introduced. It is aimed at protecting the vital interests of the workers and employees, steadily improving their standard of living. The social-security system provided for payments to workers and employees in connection with illness, temporary loss of capacity to work, and maternity leave.

Increased wages are being paid to the toilers. Women have the same rights as men: they receive equal pay for equal work.

An important achievement in the new Sinkiang is the elimination of unemployment.

The increase in the material and cultural well-being of the toilers of the city and village is clear evidence of the viability and stability of people's democratic China.

* * *

The outstanding successes of the Chinese people in the field of national construction show clearly the advantages of the people's democratic over the bourgeois order. These successes have been possible thanks to the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and to the formation of the Chinese People's Republic, which has destroyed the system of oppression and inequality between the various national minorities of the country.

The inspirer and initiator of all the great transformations in the Chinese People's Republic is the Communist Party. All of its heroic activities are examples of tireless service to the toiling masses, to the people's democratic order.

The strength of the Communist Party of China lies in its unbreakable ties with the working class and with the toiling masses. Relying on their creative strength and active support, the party is confidently leading the country along the road of the building of socialism. In its struggle to strengthen the people's democratic state and to build a socialist society, the Communist Party is guided by the unshakeable theories of Marxism-Leninism and by the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Of world historical significance, the experience accumulated in solving the nationality question in the Soviet Union, which represents the genuinely fraternal cooperation of free peoples with equal rights, serves as an inspiring example for national construction in the CPR.

As a result of the undeviating implementation of the nationality policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China, new relations have been established between all the country's nationalities. Each day the bonds of friendship between them are being strengthened, mutual fraternal aid and support are being intensified, and considerable successes are being achieved in their economic, cultural, and political development.

A mighty program for the further economic and cultural development of the peoples of China is established in the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the CPR. The successful fulfillment of this plan will transform the new China from a backward agrarian country into a mighty industrial power.

A new step on the road of the further development of socialist construction in China was the first session of the All-Chinese Congress of People's Representatives, second convocation, in April 1959. This session summed up the results of socialist construction in the First Five-Year Plan and in the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan (1958). It gave the people an incentive as regards fulfillment of the tasks necessary for a steep upswing in all sectors of the national economy in 1959. "The main task of the people of our country in the coming year," said Comrade Chou En-lai, "consists in actively and energetically struggling for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the national economic plan."* The main links of this plan are four basic indices, which provide for the pouring of 12 million tons of steel, the mining of 335 million tons of coal, and increases in the grain and cotton harvest by about 10% in comparison with the 1958 figures.**

(* Pravda, 19 April 1959.)

(** Ibid., 27 August 1959.)

The development of the economy and culture of the country will contribute to the further economic and cultural development of the national districts, to an improvement in the material wellbeing of the national minorities of China.

Very important for the accomplishments of the tasks of national construction in the CPR have been the measures taken by the Communist Party and the organs of the people's rule for strengthening the people's democratic order.

Among these measures the struggle against counterrevolution has played a prominent role. In the course of this struggle a number of espionage and diversionary organizations set up by the Kuomintang in various districts of the country, have been uncovered and rendered harmless. Many inveterate bandits, who had inflicted great sufferings on people, were captured and brought to trial.

Of great importance also for the strengthening of the people's democratic order has been the campaign "against the three evils" (corruption, waste, bureaucratism); "against the five evils" (bribery, refusal to pay taxes, plundering of government property, unsatisfactory fulfillment of government orders, and disclosure of government economic

data); for bringing order into the organization of work; against rightist elements from among the reactionary segment of the bourgeoisie.

As a result of these campaigns the organs of self-rule in the national districts, like the government organs in other districts of the country, have strengthened and have intensified their role in the organization of the masses for the accomplishment of the tasks of socialist construction.

The Communist Party and the People's Government of China are waging a determined struggle against both chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. The struggle against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism acquired special importance in 1956 in connection with the open attack of rightist elements on the people's democratic order.

Striving to block the economic and cultural development of the national minorities, the rightist elements attempted by various means to revive great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism. In Sinkiang local nationalities made separatist demands: a declaration of the independence of Sinkiang, the creation of a republic, the ousting of Chinese and other non-native national minorities from the organs of self-rule and the party apparatus, etc. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the toiling masses of the various national minorities dealt all these hostile plots a decisive rebuff.

From December 1957 to April 1958 the expanded Plenum of the Party Committee of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast met in Urumchi. The Plenum was held under the banner of a merciless struggle against local nationalism. In its report "Fight Determinedly Against Local Nationalism, for the Great Victory of Socialism,"* Saifudin Azizov, secretary of the Party Committee, demonstrated the anti-people's character of the demands of the local nationalists.

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 17 December 1957; Jen-min Jih-pao, 26 December 1957)

Saifudin Azizov pointed out that the national minorities could achieve enlightenment only in a single great united family, through the unity and cooperation of the nationalities.

Speaking in the name of all the nationalities of Sinkiang, Saifudin Azizov asserted that the fortunes of the national minorities of Sinkiang were historically inseparable from the fate of the Han people. He said, "We achieved freedom after a long common struggle for common goals. All the national minorities will struggle together and with the aid of the great Han people advance on the road to socialism and communism. This is the great goal of all the peoples of Sinkiang."

In building socialism the Chinese people are defending the cause of peace. The national minorities of the CRR are also taking an active part in the movement of the defenders of peace. Their members have taken part in all-Chinese congresses for the defense of peace. The fraternal peoples of China have a feeling of love and friendship for the Soviet people. They know that the successes of national construction, like all the other successes in the socialist construction of the Chinese People's Republic, have been made possible thanks to the fraternal aid and support of the great Soviet Union.

Consistently implementing the treaty "On Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid" of 14 February 1959, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have set up a broad system of joint economic and cultural ties.

Mutually profitable trade; scientific-technical aid; cooperation in the development of the national economy, science, and culture; cooperation in training cadres, detailing Soviet specialists, exchanging production experience -- such are the main lines of the growing fraternal ties between the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese People's Republic.

Between 1953 and 1957 the Chinese People's Republic built and reconstructed 211 important industrial enterprises with the aid of the Soviet Union.

In August 1958 an agreement was concluded between the USSR and the CPR concerning Soviet technical aid to China for the construction and expansion of another 47 industrial enterprises.

As a result of the negotiations conducted in February 1959 in Moscow between the governments of the USSR and the CPR, the Soviet Government agreed to aid People's China in building another 78 large enterprises and electric power stations.*

(* Druzhba, 1959, No. 1, p.2.)

Of tremendous significance for the development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have been the historic meetings between Mao Tse-tung and N. S. Khrushchev in Peiping in late July and early August 1958.

In the joint communique of the meetings it is stated that "between the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Government friendly fraternal relations and broad cooperation and mutual assistance are developing and becoming stronger. The economies of both countries are being energetically developed, and daily their might is increasing. The unity and cooperation which are being built up in both countries on the basis of complete equality and comradely mutual aid are becoming a mighty living force."*

(* Ibid., 1958, No. 34, p. 3.)

Having accumulated great experience in the struggle for socialism, the Soviet people consider it a fraternal obligation to help the Chinese people in every way possible to strengthen their people's democratic state and to build socialism.

The great and ever-growing friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples is a most important guarantee for the building of socialism in the Chinese People's Republic.

An important role is being played in the strengthening and development of the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China by the units of the society of Soviet-Chinese Friendship. These have been set up in many cities of Sinkiang and in all the other provinces of China. With members from among the various segments of the population, the society's units are doing a great deal of work to acquaint the people with the life of the Soviet people and with their

successes in the building of communism, as well as to disseminate the experience of the Soviet Union in economic, cultural, and state construction.

The national minorities of Sinkiang are reading Soviet books with enormous interest. Soviet artistic, political, and scientific literature enjoys exceptional popularity in Sinkiang. Many works have been translated into the languages of the national minorities inhabiting the oblast. Annually, study of the Russian language is growing in scope. A considerable number of schools and circles have been set up to teach the Russian language. Russian-language instruction is being given over the radio; the Russian language is being studied in institutes, schools, and other educational institutions.

Chinese-Soviet Friendship Months are held regularly in the cities and villages of the oblast. In the course of these Friendship Months a movement is steadily developing among the broad masses of the toilers of Sinkiang for the promotion of the study and introduction into production of Soviet experience and advanced science and technology.

As a result of the broad dissemination of Soviet experience in plants, factories, mines, and agriculture, a considerable increase has been observable in labor productivity and many new production records have been set.

Soviet-Chinese Friendship Months are contributing to the further strengthening and development of the friendship between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

Describing the importance of Chinese-Soviet friendship for the development of the peoples of Sinkiang, as of the other peoples of China, in an article devoted to the anniversary of the treaty of friendship, alliance, and mutual aid between the USSR and CPR, the newspaper Sinkiang Jih-pao asserted that "the nationalities of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Oblast should never forget the selfless aid of the Soviet Union. Every time they see in the autonomous oblast the enterprises of the petroleum industry, the nonferrous-metal mines, the electric power stations, the automobile repair and assembly plants, they should give thanks to the Soviet Union for its enormous international assistance."*

(* Sinkiang Jih-pao, 14 February 1957.)

Relying on the many-sided aid and support of the Soviet Union and inspired by their own great achievements, the toilers of China are working with still greater energy for the further development of their economy and culture, for the reconstruction on socialist foundations of their entire social and political life.

The peoples of Sinkiang are filled with fraternal love and gratitude towards the great Chinese People, the Communist Part, and the People's Government of China, which are successfully leading the previously-oppressed nationalities towards economic, cultural, and political enlightenment.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Government of China, the toilers of Sinkiang -- in the indissoluble fraternal family of peoples of a multi-national people's democratic state -- are confidently advancing on the road of the building of socialism.

The achievements of the Chinese People's Republic in the solution of the nationality question represent a new triumph for the ever-victorious ideas of Marxist-Leninism.

FIGURE APPENDIX

Diagram of the Administrative Organs of the Sinkiang
Uighur Autonomous Oblast (as of 1 April 1959)

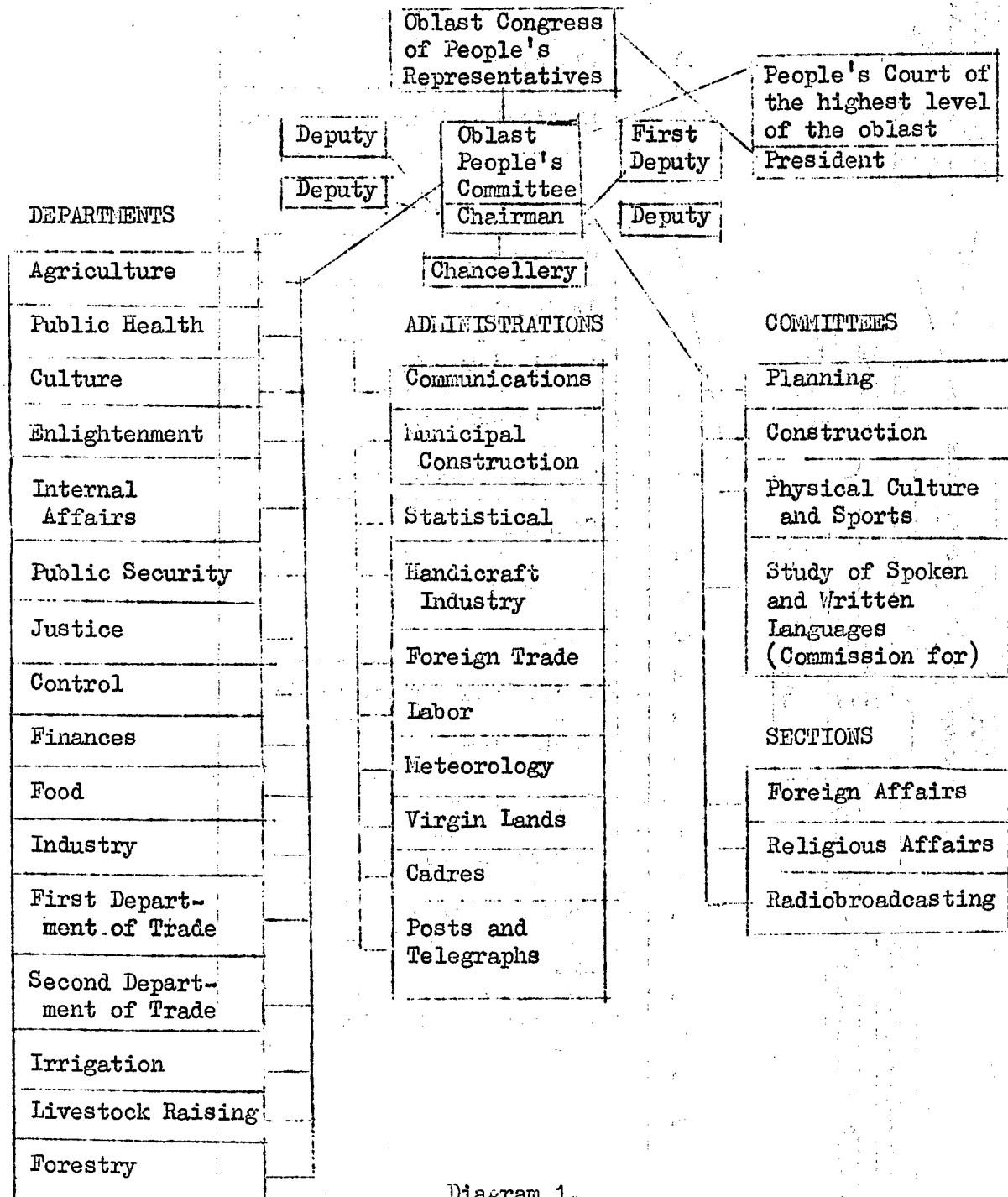


Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM OF ORGANS OF SELF-RULE OF THE ILI-KAZAKH AUTONOMOUS OKRUG
(as of 1 April 1959)

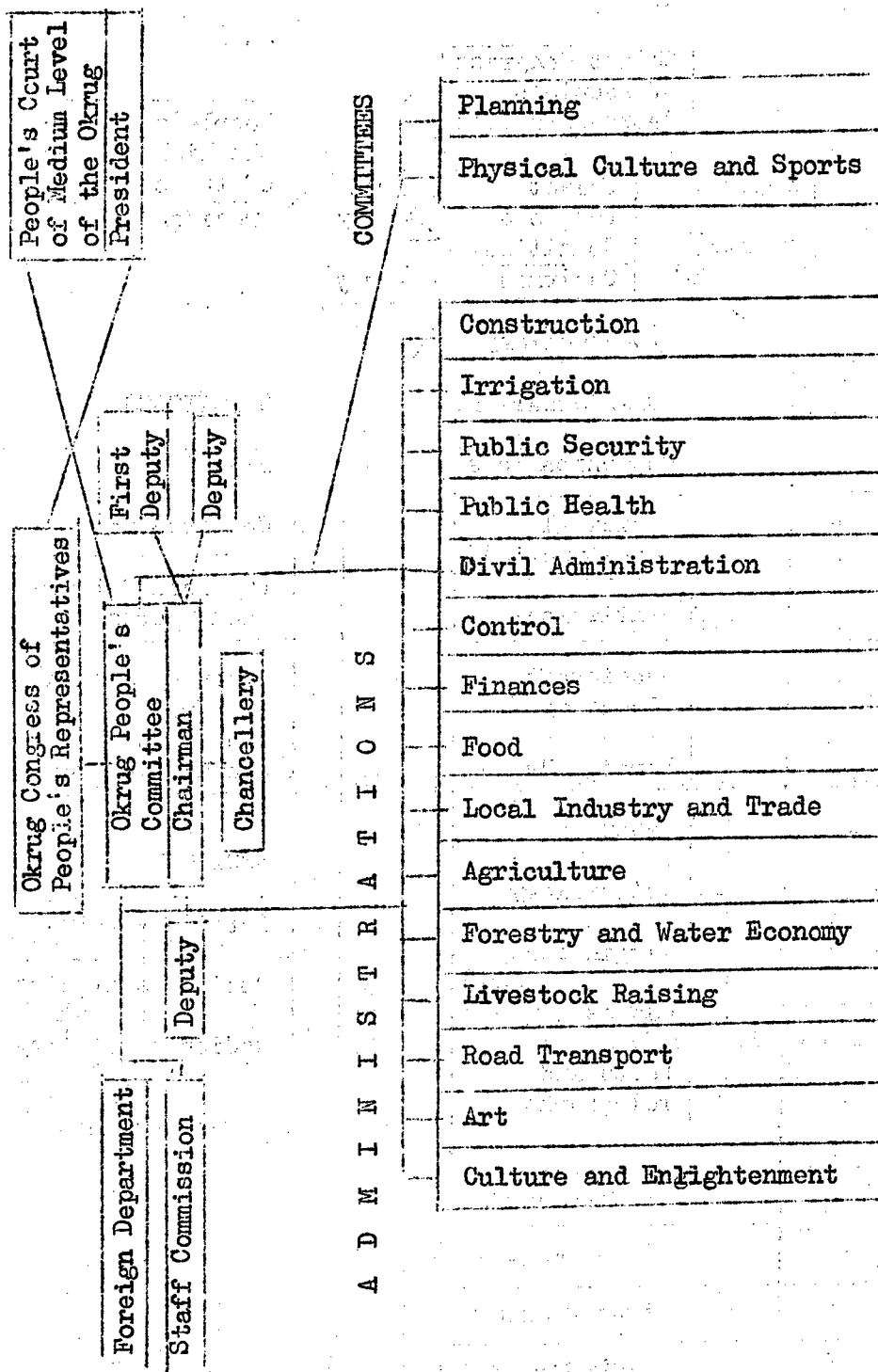


Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM OF ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY AND ADMINISTRATION
IN THE CITY OF KUL'DZHA (as of 1 April 1959)

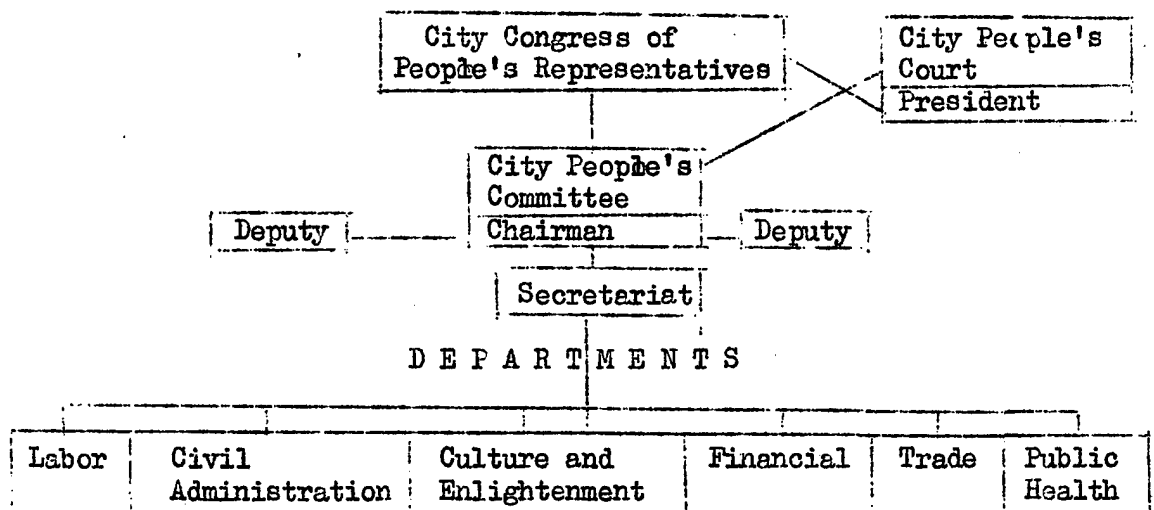


Diagram 3.

DIAGRAM OF ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY AND ADMINISTRATION
IN THE COUNTIES (as of 1 April 1959)

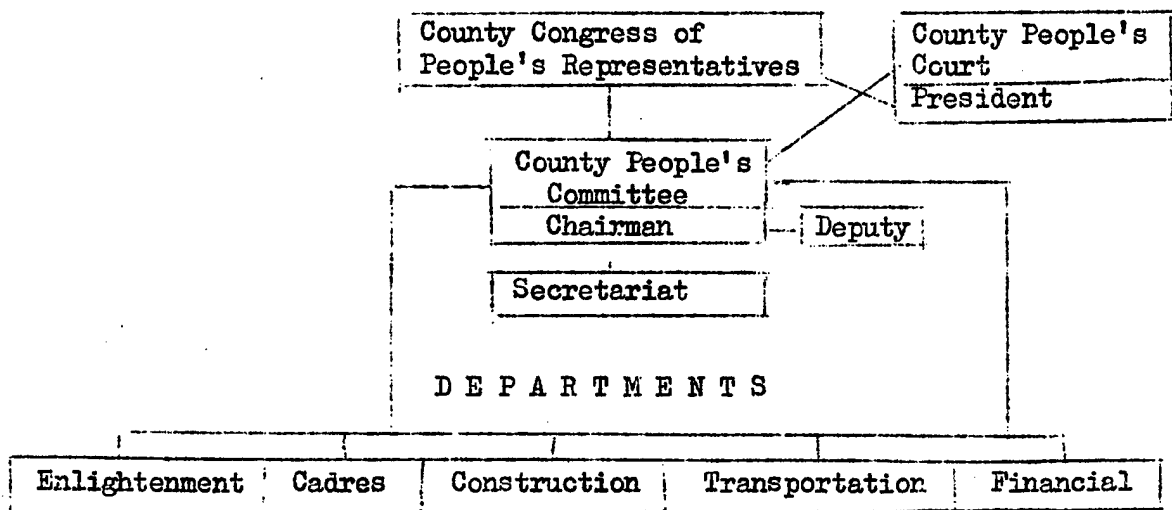


Diagram 4.